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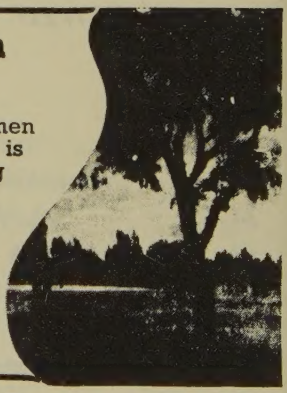

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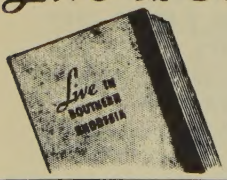

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THE WAY OF THE WORLD

THE SPANISH TRAGEDY

by VERNON BARTLETT

LAST month in this REVIEW I wrote a defence of the compromise whereby the British, French and other governments agreed to send no arms to the legal government in Madrid in the hope that they would thereby discourage the German and Italian governments from sending arms to the illegal government in Burgos. Within a few days I was in the midst of a tremendous uproar in Toledo. A large bombing machine that was certainly never made in Spain was dropping bombs on the Spanish militia and me. A few thousand machine gun and rifle bullets were wasted by way of reply. There were no anti-aircraft guns and no pursuit planes available on the Government side.

The odds in the air are at least ten to one in favour of General Franco. By the time this article reaches the bookstalls he will probably, with the help of Italian and German aircraft and Moorish legionaries, have captured Madrid. Under the deceptive phrase "cleaning up", a great deal of murder may be in process in order once more to put in power privileged classes who have in the past accumulated so much wealth in a poor country that they stand condemned as people unworthy to rule. The return to power of these aristocrats, generals and priests who, like the Bourbons who for so long governed them, have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing, would be a greater tragedy than the abolition of liberty of thought in Germany, the Japanese annexation of Manchuria and the disappearance of Abyssinia from the map. And much of the responsibility for the Spanish tragedy will rest on the shoulders of the meek and mild democratic powers.

One was wrong to believe that the policy of non-intervention

would help the Spanish Government. Had there been no embargo, the dictator governments would, it is true, have poured in armaments to Burgos and Seville far more generously than the democratic governments, split by internal dissensions, would have sent supplies to Madrid. But what I, for one, did not realise until I saw men marching about the Spanish villages with old sporting guns as their only weapons was the tremendous surplus of man power on the Government's side. Madrid had men and money, but no munitions. Burgos had arms, but not enough Moors to use them.

The only excuse, then, for the non-intervention policy was that it postponed a serious European crisis. But a crisis should be solved and not merely postponed, and the arms embargo has made the ultimate solution more difficult.

* * *

There are a few questions to which every Englishman must think out his reply. Italy is gaining more and more control in the Mediterranean. The fortification of Rhodes and Pantelleria will almost certainly be followed by that of Majorca, whatever assurances General Franco may give to the contrary. British refugees from that island who recently travelled with me on a destroyer to Marseilles left me in no doubt whatsoever about Italian control there. Is it to be imagined that Count Rossi and his colleagues are going to retire if and when General Franco urges them to do so ?

In the same way, Germany continues to build up armaments far beyond those required to defend her frontiers against any conceivable attack from Russia and France. However genuine the fear of the Soviets may be in the Wilhelmstrasse, it can hardly be believed that Russia, with lines of communication stretching all the way through Czechoslovakia (for Poland bars the way elsewhere), and France, with a diminishing population and increasing social problems of her own to solve, are going to make an unprovoked attack on Germany. Nobody who knows the Germans well will believe nonsense about their wanting war. But the temptation for a well-disciplined, densely-populated, highly industrialised State to seek solution of its difficulties by making war is far greater than it is for an immense and amorphous country such as Russia. It may be, as a distinguished Frenchman said to me recently, that the Russian revolution has reached the Napoleonic stage. But, even so, Russia will not be in an aggressive

mood for some years to come, and we already have enough troubles to face, without meeting others half way.

Now these two countries, Italy and Germany, refuse to accept the same international code as other countries. General de Bono's book on the Abyssinian campaign proves, even to the blindest of those who do not wish to see, that Signor Mussolini had been planning his African war for years before he found the Wal-Wal excuse for tearing up the League Covenant. Herr Hitler sent his troops into the demilitarised Rhineland zone last March, and claimed that this gesture would facilitate the negotiation of a genuine peace. And yet he still, on one plea or another, avoids negotiation while his military preparations proceed and his Herr Greisers are allowed to insult other statesmen unpunished.

* * *

The League procedure, it is true, has become so nearly farcical that the sarcasm of the governments in Berlin and Rome about it is understandable. It would even be forgivable had their behaviour not done so much to turn it into a farce. But in any case their reluctance to talk in Geneva need not be an obstacle to peace ; other governments have been almost indecently anxious to adopt any other procedure which Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini might deign to accept. But the more Mr. Eden is conciliatory and polite, the less conciliatory these gentlemen become.

So that the Englishman must ask himself two more questions. " How far should I go to appease nations which are strong enough to imperil my own and whose intentions I am driven to distrust ? " " Is there a single occasion on which my desire to conciliate by subordinating justice to expediency has, in fact, led to conciliation ? "

The answer to the first question is a matter of opinion. To the second it is, definitely and obviously, " No." The cowardly compromises during the Sino-Japanese dispute so weakened the forces of order that Signor Mussolini decided he could risk his Abyssinian campaign. The success of the Duce's bluff during that crisis certainly encouraged the Führer to make his Rhineland *coup*. The desire to be polite to Germany because she is strong and strident in her demands has left so little force behind all the talk of liberty, decency and democracy that Germany and Italy have not hesitated to help a rebel army against a legal government, and to resent any reproaches for doing so,

in a way which in normal circumstances would have led to war. One last question presents itself: "Have the hesitating protests of the British and French Governments against this policy and their firm refusal to allow the legal Spanish Government to buy from them the necessary weapons of self-defence, lessened the danger of further attacks on law and liberty in the future?" The answer, I fear, is, "No."

* * *

The civil war in Spain will probably be lost by the Spanish people only because the insurgents have received help from abroad which was refused to the Government. There will be a new period of tyranny during which these Spaniards will not even have the poor consolation of reflecting that the cause of liberty has gained elsewhere through their slavery. Either this tyranny will be successful, and Spain will be welded into a new Fascist State of the greatest strategical importance (in that Gibraltar will become a liability rather than an asset in all British plans of defence, while France will have to maintain far too many troops along the Pyrenees in the event of a Franco-German or Franco-Italian war). Or the tyranny will break down and Spain will be faced with a much more bloody civil war than the present one and with the prospect of a much more drastic swing to the left at the end of it.

I have been a spectator of a good many civil disturbances since that international disturbance known as the Great War. But this Caballero-Franco fight differs from them all. Despite the quarrelsome committees in Madrid and Barcelona, I have never before had so definite an impression of a united people trying to throw off the servitude of centuries. No doubt on the insurgent side are many men of high ideals, but officers, priests and aristocrats have done so little in the past to educate the Spanish peasant that one inevitably distrusts any cause which brings them together. No doubt there are in the insurgent ranks ardent young National Socialists as honest and unselfish as those who at one time led one to hope there would be more gold than dross in the new Germany, although one wonders how they reconcile their nationalist idea with the use of Moorish troops against their own countrymen. But who, knowing anything of Spain, really believes that the centralisation, standardisation and destruction of individualism which inevitably accompany fascism could flourish on Spanish soil unless it be watered with the blood of thousands upon

thousands of Spaniards ?

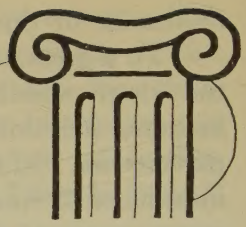
To a great extent fascism and national socialism are based upon the lower middle-classes—the clerks, the artisans, the little shopkeepers, the unemployed. They are, in the literal sense, popular movements. Much of their strength is due to the fact that they have introduced a number of reforms which give these middle-classes a greater sense of their importance and of their value to the State. The capitalist is happier under fascism than he would be under socialism, but he is not completely happy. He must employ more workmen than he wants to employ and he must put up with various forms of taxation which no normal democratic government would be able to impose upon him.

But there is nothing popular about the Franco movement in Spain, and it is a grave condemnation of fascism that it should ally itself with such out and out reactionaries. Still more important, the refusal of Whitehall and the Quai d'Orsay to help a progressive government against a reactionary one saps all confidence that Mr. Anthony Eden or M. Léon Blum believe sufficiently in human liberty to fight for it.

I do not for one moment pretend that the victory of the Spanish Left would lead to the immediate restoration of all the machinery of democracy, for that machinery would certainly break down in Spain, and to some extent the present civil war is due to a premature attempt to make it work. But I do pretend—I do assert—that Largo Caballero represents so very much larger a proportion of the population than does General Franco that support of the insurgents is the negation of liberty. Those nice Conservatives who are most horrified by talk of class war are making it inevitable by their undisguised hope that those Spaniards who come from the same social class as they do will succeed in prolonging a disgraceful tyranny. They make it infinitely more difficult for those of us who believe both in tolerance and in the abolition of injustice to remain tolerant.

In Spain I met young Englishmen, Italians, Germans, Frenchmen, Belgians, Czechoslovaks and Russians, all fighting in the anti-fascist militia. I pray they may not be the forerunners of a great international army fighting in a new world war. But I fear they will be unless the few remaining democratic governments can be made to realise that opportunism is the worst policy.

THE OPEN FORUM



A POLICY FOR YOUTH

by SIR ARNOLD WILSON, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., M.P.

In this section we publish, without necessarily sharing the opinions they set out, frank articles by men of international fame. Here we have the honour of a contribution from the editor of the 'Nineteenth Century and After,' author of 'Walks and Talks Abroad,' etc., and Conservative Member of Parliament for Hitchin

IN Russia and in Germany, in Italy and in Poland, and not only in these countries, youth has been mobilised in the service of the State and, in its turn, has been able to exercise, directly or indirectly, greater influence on national policies than it has ever exercised in countries where a parliamentary régime still exists.

My own observations in Germany and Italy suggest that youth has accepted the obligations of military and labour service, which are peculiar to youth, on the implicit understanding, which has been honoured, that youth will in return have a larger share than heretofore in the responsibilities and even of the emoluments of office.

In Great Britain many voices have proclaimed that youth must be served: few have dared to suggest that it must serve—in the literal sense. It is easier here than in most countries to employ young persons under eighteen, regardless of their ultimate interests. Borstal is full, not of apprentices and budding mechanics, whose spare time is spent at continuation schools, but of errand-boys and bookies' touts, of runners and of youths who have been in like casual and irregular employment.

Can "this freedom" endure? Should we allow it to continue? If youth could express a collective opinion after comparing continental discipline under arms with British irresponsibility at street corners what would its verdict be?

Before we answer this question, let us consider the question from another angle, and outline a policy which is designed to give youths a better chance of the abundant life than most of them now have, as a preliminary to asking service of them.

To many middle-aged writers and preachers youth suggests romance, but those who boast of their youth are generally those who never enjoyed it or who have long lost it, for it is a matter less of years than of temperament. Archbishops couple youth with adventure: round-shouldered intellectuals associate it in novels with things they themselves would fain have done, had they dared, but had not the courage to attempt.

For most young men and women, however, unless they have had an overdose of love-films or sex-novels it means, primarily, none of these things, but rather denotes a period of life when desires outrun the means to satisfy them in several directions at once: when anxiety is greatest, for certainty of vocation and security of employment is not yet theirs: when independence is most desired, and hardest to obtain; irksome when the demands of relations and friends are most pressing and the ways of escape fewest.

The Dead Hand of Age

These aspects of youth are for the most part inherent in the nature of life, but some of the handicaps of youth arise from social conventions imposed by older persons, who are apt to forget that the years of youth, from eighteen to twenty-five or thirty, are passed in the ante-chamber which leads to every council in which the nation's official or unofficial business is transacted, in public or in private. What will be done in the council-chamber in due course of time depends on what chance the young men outside are given to fit themselves to take their rightful places later round the table and at the head of it. An amendment to the Companies Act, 1929, providing that all directors of public companies must retire at the age of seventy would probably affect one-third of the whole body of directors; the result would certainly be good. It is not the pay they draw, but their outlook, which costs us dear. They are apt to say of most things, "it will last my time," but what of their successors? The irresponsible conservatism of age may be as dangerous as the light hearted innovations of youth.

If youth begins at 18 and ends at 30, there are 4 million men and $4\frac{1}{2}$ million women in England and Wales between those ages, of whom $1\frac{1}{4}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions respectively are married. Though the mean age of marriage today is $27\frac{1}{4}$ for bachelors and $25\frac{1}{4}$ for spinsters.

So one-third of the youth of the country is married before 30 (10 per cent. are married before 25). They are the fortunate ones, for the desire to marry is strong in youth and was never better justified; it gives unity, purpose and direction to life. If we are to exist for the next century as one of the Great Powers, we must so modify our laws, our social conventions and our financial system as to enable youth to marry and, in the words of the Psalm "to have children at their desire and leave the rest of their substance to their babes."

A bonus of, say, £25 for healthy couples marrying between 21 and 30 (18 and 30 for women) should be a statutory benefit under the National Health Insurance Scheme. Something of this sort is in force in Germany and Italy; it works well; it makes for contentment, it avoids much of the "frustration" to which Mr. H. G. Wells has devoted his last book. A reform of our obsolete and immoral marriage laws must be put through at the same time.

The Right to a House

But a marriage bonus is only the first stage; the next problem of those about to marry is to find a house within their means. Our housing policy takes no account of those who wish to marry. It is controlled by statutory regulations as to overcrowding, without reference to any other factors than square feet of floor space, the effect of which is still further to penalise those couples who have children, and to persecute those who have many. Magistrates, and others, abuse, jeer or sneer at large families. If the head of the family is poor or, for no fault of his own, without work, he is told he should not have more children than he can afford, though we all know that those who can "afford" most have so few that they do not on balance replace themselves. The average number of children of the present Front Bench is just under two; that of the House of Commons and Lords combined is probably less; yet between three and four children per family are necessary to keep our numbers steady. Better marry "on the dole" and get work, and beget healthy children later than marry in middle age and die childless and prosperous on the labour of others.

A couple intending to marry, or a married couple, should have a statutory right to a house within a reasonable time. This sounds revolutionary; perhaps it is; it is less so than the Act of 1935, which gives to local authorities the statutory right to eject people, on the report of a medical officer and a surveyor, from houses in which they have lived happy and healthy lives, and to force them to live miles away from their work and friends, in damp new houses on which the plaster is not dry and the floors unstained. The cry of the re-housed is an exceeding bitter cry, particularly when they are forbidden to put down oilcloth, lest dry-rot appear, and advised to buy carpet squares they cannot afford, and are sometimes as overcrowded in their new quarters as they were before. Young couples are better treated abroad than in this country.

Family Allowances

This brings me to the third point of a policy for youth. The dependent family, totalling 17½ million, constitutes nearly half the population. It has no spending power directly behind it, and is kept out of earnings of occupied heads of families, whose pay is calculated without distinction between those with and those without dependants.

The State provides a cast-iron system of education, relief for the poorest, and some provision for orphans, but otherwise does not recognise the existence of a family unless the head of the family is in receipt of public assistance. Wages are unrelated to the size of the family. We say we pay a man for what he produces, but children, of all forms of production the most valuable to the nation, are not reckoned in any calculation of wages. If it is impossible to take the size of a family into account in assessing wages, either our civilisation will collapse by a rapid reduction of the population, or we shall abandon our present freedom for the philosophy of the beehive or the ant-heap. I see no need for either.

To succeed, family allowances must not be on a flat rate, but proportionate to the wages or salary of the parent. This is vital. The effect of a flat rate would be dysgenic; the State and municipalities, as the largest employers, should make a beginning. It would be the greatest single step towards the abolition of poverty that can now be made. It would give youth hope and confidence and some

measure of security; it has been tried, and is working, in some parts of France.

As the rigid framework of Government departments expand, and great public utility and other corporations grow, the relative security they give to those they employ is at the expense of those whom they serve. The demand for security against poverty and misery is strong; it should be met as far as is humanly possible by insurance conducted on the most economical lines possible, not for private profit, but by the State.

The overhead charges for administering old age pensions is about 2.8 per cent., unemployment benefit 6.8 per cent., national health insurance 22 per cent., industrial insurance 35 per cent., employment liability over 40 per cent. The first two are under Government control. Any scheme adopted must be universal and thus compulsory. Unemployment insurance should be extended to all wage-earners, up to £500, with the right to remain thereafter as voluntary subscribers.

I have dealt with health insurance. I would have the Government take over workmen's compensation as an integral part of the National Health scheme, and the defence of common employment abolished. The insurance of workmen against accident and death arising from their employment should no longer be a matter of private profit, and I would have funeral benefit (say £25 at the death of an adult) added to the national scheme.

On a universal compulsory basis this could be secured for half the sums now paid on industrial policies to commercial companies. This is the Italian system, and in some measure, that in force in Germany.

Third-party insurance for motor vehicles is now compulsory, but only one sufferer in ten—if he is a cyclist or pedestrian—gets compensation. The payment of compensation should be regarded as the duty, not so much of the individual motorist who did the damage, as of the motoring community as a whole. The injured person should be entitled to full damages unless his injuries were wholly caused by his own wilful negligence; this is the law in cases of Employers' Liability, and it has worked well. It is the Christian principle enunciated by St. Paul to the Galatians, which, freely translated, reads:

"Help to bear each other's *calamities*, and so fulfil the law of Christ, ... each man must carry his own share of *responsibility*." Whoever bears the money loss, the whole 100 per cent. of suffering is borne by the injured party.

These measures would give youth a real measure of security. They would not be so insulated from the bitter blasts of fortune as to be careless of the future. They, indeed, would be encouraged to take risks by the knowledge that they had a certain minimum security. Insurances cost money; it would be willingly given; it is safe to say that the whole extra cost to the community of all these services would be less than £100 million, one tenth of what we now spend on drugs and drink, cosmetics, tobacco and betting. It would go far to abolish the worst forms of fear, and of poverty.

Youth's Offering

What will young men undertake to do in return? It does not become youth to demand that these burdens be shared forthwith by the whole community—youth must serve, as well as be served.

I suggest that youth's principal contribution should be a whole-hearted acceptance of the principles of national service for six months, either with the Territorial Army or on service in public works camps, in afforestation and land reclamation. Let us frankly abandon the idea that there is no moral obligation to defend the State; let us recognise the obligation and accept it as binding on all, public work being an alternative for those who are unwilling to serve under arms, or for physical reasons are unable to do so.

It will give youth health, companionship and security at a period of life when these are most valuable.

Our happiness, our very existence, depends as much on the welfare of the nation as the leaves of an oak on the parent stem. They wither, the oak endures, though without it they, too, would die. This, and not a shadowy and unearthly future, is for most men the only immortality they can conceive. This, in a Christian community, is everlasting life; it is worth living and dying for.

THE REASON

Nellbaeck himself described the shooting.

He said: "I killed the professor because he resolutely opposed my 'negative perception philosophy.'"—*Daily Express, London.*

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S MISSION
And a Word on Britain's

by DR. MILAN HODŽA
Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia

In our September issue we published extracts from a speech made in London by Konrad Henlein, leader of the German minority in Czechoslovakia. This month we are honoured by an article from Dr. Milan Hodža, the present Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia. Dr. Hodža's whole life has been devoted to the service of the Slovak people, whose cause he upheld in the Hungarian Parliament before the war. Since 1918 he has played an active part in building up the Czechoslovak State, now the last outpost of democracy in Eastern Europe. Few are in a better position than he to outline his country's mission. For other Czechoslovak views, see page 53.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA stands for peace and collaboration between peoples, both as regards her internal and her external policy. Our country is organized on a democratic basis, and consequently there is no reason why the reasonable desires and aspirations of all sections of the community should not be realized by normal means.

A good deal is being said abroad about the problem of the Germans in Czechoslovakia.

They are complaining that the government is not trying to find a solution of the crisis of those industries which used to be great economic and social factors in regions largely inhabited by a German population. There are, of course, great difficulties when you are dealing with industries which used to work very largely for export. During the present crisis these difficulties are quite comparable to those which are facing the distressed areas in Great Britain. But in spite of these difficulties the government is working upon an industrial plan for these areas in Czechoslovakia and is preparing a scheme to render assistance by means of special credits and taxation refunds.

As far as the language question in Czechoslovakia is concerned, it is an uncontested fact that the Germans have in proportion just as many schools, classes and teachers as corresponds with their proportion

of population. One small aspect of the language question is, however, going to be dealt with by legislation.

It is a fact that Czechoslovakia provides her minorities with more than is required by the Minorities Treaties. The proof of this tolerant attitude is the fact that various German parties in Czechoslovakia form part of the coalition and are represented in the Cabinet. German State officials and soldiers fulfil their duties to the Republic very satisfactorily and the greater part of the German population is loyal to the State. But of course the employment of State officials is fundamentally a question of confidence and trust. This confidence is bound to be undermined when one is in the presence of anti-democratic or totalitarian agitation exploiting economic difficulties.

It is not difficult to understand that a State hesitates to entrust its administration to officials who profess pan-German views as was the case immediately after the war, or totalitarian principles as is the case now with the *Sudetendeutsche Heimatfront* party of Herr Henlein.

A complete settlement of internal differences between the Germans and the rest of the community in Czechoslovakia can be obtained only following the restoration of confidence, and by methods of mutual agreement and co-operation. Pressure and " radicalism," propaganda and agitation inspired from abroad, can but retard this complete settlement.

After all, our constitution is so liberal that it offers all the opportunities necessary for the solution of problems and the working out of methods of co-operation. But there can be no room within its four corners for drastic changes based on undemocratic or totalitarian ideas either in regard to race or State.

Hopes of Economic Collaboration

Similarly, in the domain of foreign policy, Czechoslovakia stands to-day, as she has always stood, for the promotion of a policy of peace, in collaboration with her neighbours. Hence Czechoslovakia desires to collaborate with the League of Nations, with her allies of the Little Entente, her Danubian neighbours, and, indeed, with all nations of goodwill.

I am hopeful that the economic co-operation at present existing between the members of the Little Entente—Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Jugoslavia—can be extended to embrace the Pact of Rome Group

(Italy, Austria and Hungary) and also Germany. We are working on plans with this aim in view. If it should be successful, a considerable degree of political appeasement in Central Europe would be bound to follow.

With regard to Germany, an agreement with her would be in the interest of European consolidation. But any such agreement must be compatible with our existing treaty obligations. By reason of her political and geographical situation Czechoslovakia must necessarily work within a wide European framework. Naturally a settlement of differences between Czechoslovakia and Germany would be enormously facilitated if, at the forthcoming Locarno Conference, there should emerge an Anglo-French-German agreement. For it is obvious that the removal of obstacles to a Franco-German understanding would mean also the removal of obstacles to a German-Czechoslovak agreement.

Britain's Vital Role

In all these hopes and perspectives it is impossible to stress too strongly the great role which can be played by Britain. If Britain stands fast by her policy of a *general European settlement*, it should not be difficult for the States of Central and South-Eastern Europe to find ways and means not only for improving their relations one with another but also for going further and building up a practical system of neighbourly co-operation.

In the meantime we shall not stand with folded arms and idle hands waiting upon the Great Powers. We shall be engaged upon drawing up plans for regional economic collaboration and political appeasement in Danubian Europe, so that in the hoped-for event of a wider European settlement this year, we can be ready for the application —within the general European framework—of a workable local solution of the problems which afflict our own part of Europe.

If, therefore, one would speak of Czechoslovakia's European mission I would say that it must necessarily follow from her internal development, from her democratic way of settling political, racial and economic problems, in the direction of peace and consolidation in Central and South-Eastern Europe. It can only be an integral part of that wider mission of general European pacification which Britain has taken upon herself to carry out.

KEEP YOUR EYES ON THE EAST

by RICHARD VON KÜHLMANN

(*Ex-Foreign Minister of Germany*)

EUROPE, particularly England, lives still very much in memory of the great war, which ended by a complete overthrow of the balance of power in Europe. The logical aim of British foreign policy would seem to be to re-establish this balance and to create a situation which might eventually leave her hands fairly free, should complications in the Far East become inevitable.

The situation on the borders of Manchukuo shows a high state of tension. Several hundred clashes between Manchurian and Japanese troops on one side and the Soviet Russians on the other side have occurred. Neither side—neither Tokio nor Moscow—are very keen to throw themselves into a decisive struggle which might have far-reaching results. Should Russia be sure that she could keep the peace on her Western front, should she become engaged in the East, the decision to take the Japanese challenge would be more easily arrived at. It looks as if England were trying, as far as lies in her power, to give Russia this feeling. Perhaps it is not misreading the motives of recent history if the *rapprochements* between Downing Street and Moscow, which led to the conclusion of a commercial agreement, are in the main attributed to the influence of Far-Eastern questions.

Russia's history on the Pacific during the last century is one of slow retreat. One is apt to forget that in California, Russian plans aimed at linking up Russian influence with the Spaniards pushing northwards from Mexico. Russian fortifications are still to be seen close to San Francisco. Then came the sale of Alaska to the United States, the loss of Korea and Manchuria after the Russo-Japanese War, and the sale of the Manchurian Railway. The present Soviet Government cannot continue this long retreat and abandon Russia's outlets to the Pacific without loss of prestige. Moscow has in recent times made considerable efforts to fortify her positions in the Far East by double-tracking the Siberian Railway, colonizing the maritime provinces and building up local industries in the East capable of manufacturing war supplies. Finally, a strong army has been created under General Blücher, who is credited with ability and activity.

Russia is frightened by the prospect that one day she might be threatened in the Far East by Japan, and in Europe by Germany. This fear has certainly accelerated the conclusion of the alliance with France. The accumulating evidence cannot be overlooked that Russia is trying to use every possible complication in Europe for the kindling of a great war. Her attitude after the occupation of the Rhineland was very provocative ; now she is using the trouble in Spain for the same end. At the bottom of this scheme is the hope that France would do the hard work against Germany and that Fascist Germany would be so weakened that the danger of a great war on two fronts would be averted for Russia. Soviet influence is gaining ground in Paris every day. The danger of developments favourable to Russian plans must by no means be overlooked.

We are forced to the conclusion that Far-Eastern questions play a preponderant part in world policy to-day, and that anybody taking limited views and focussing his attention too exclusively on Europe, is apt to be entirely misled. Close cooperation between Germany, Italy, France and England could lessen the very real dangers which presently threaten Europe, prevent Russian influence to become too prevalent in Western Europe, and in the long run contribute to establishing an equilibrium both in Europe and the Pacific Ocean, which would be in itself a guarantee of peaceful world developments.

A TIP FOR THE P.M.G.

The expense of telegrams calls for economy of wordage, but economy at the expense of courtesy is false economy, Communications Minister Keisuke Mochizuki has decided. He has ordered that the courtesy suffix " dono " be automatically attached to the name in every telegram sent in Japan. And it will not cost the sender a sen extra.

The " dono " will apply to everyone, to be interpreted to suit the occasion, as " Mr." or " Your Excellency," or whatever the proper form of address may be.

" It's a small matter perhaps," Mr. Mochizuki was quoted, " but it would be deplorable if the practice of proper respect for one's superiors should be lost sight of in Japan for a moment."—*Japan Times, Tokyo.*

ELASTIC FLOORS *v.* EARTHQUAKES

Japanese architects have invented a new type of elastic floor which is said to counter-balance the effect of earthquakes. They propose to use it as a foundation for all new buildings. The floor is based on the same principle as the elastic swinging bottoms of ships which reduce vibrations.—*Prager Presse, Prague.*

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

Spain Forges Souls

"I do not like war, but that does not prevent me from realising that it is in war that a people's soul is forged." These words are not Mussolini's, but come from a recent speech of General Mola's at Burgos. They need no more comment than does the insurgents' announcement from Radio Teneriffe that the Madrid Government has declared the nationalisation of women.

Moscow's Rosenberg

One of the most powerful men in Madrid to-day is Marcel Rosenberg, Russian Ambassador to Spain. Transferred from the too-comfortable atmosphere of Geneva, where he was an Under Secretary-General on the League staff, he now sits in a large suite in Madrid's Palace Hotel and plans the collapse of Fascism with a calm which some members of the Spanish Government would do well to imitate.

The "wizard hunchback," as Rosenberg is known in Moscow, has the reputation of being the real bogey whom old ladies fear to find when they hunt for Bolshevists under the bed. One of the Comintern's most capable agents, he sprang into the limelight a few years ago when Soviet Consul-General at Danzig. He was then accused of using his position to help the Ukrainian Nationalist leader, Colonel Konovaletz, to make trouble for the Poles. Although backed up by Dr. Sahm, then Nazi President of the Danzig Senate, who was glad of any fresh thorn in his neighbours' side, he had finally to be transferred.

Recipe From France

At a recent meeting of employers and employees arranged by M. Blum and M. Chautemps, in Paris, the ice took a long time in breaking. Fortunately, a luxurious buffet had been provided. When negotiations reached a deadlock the employers were sent in first to tackle the wine and sandwiches. The employees' turn came next. But some of the employers were still hungry and stayed on for a second helping. Healths were drunk and all differences settled. In fact, as M. Chautemps is reported to have said afterwards, "A few more picnics and we should have no more labour problems."

Disarming Democrat

Dr. Hodža, who is a contributor to this number of the WORLD REVIEW, was for a long time the destined successor of M. Benes as Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia. The first Slovak to hold this office, he is looked on in his own country as one of the few men able to cope with the ever-ticklish question of minorities. Level-headed, conscientious and a friend of England, he started political life as the youngest member of the pre-war Hungarian parliament. Later he became known both as an agricultural expert and as a professor of modern history.

Buying British

Only rarely are guests of the British Government entertained for a whole fortnight. Field Marshal Baron Mannerheim, Chairman of the Finnish Council of National Defence, was one of the lucky few. He was also for three days the guest of Vickers.

The reason was that the Baron had come to buy guns and aeroplanes. It is comforting to think that such a connoisseur of armaments, in spite of a recent tour round German factories, preferred to buy British.

Cincinnatus

Without being dictator, Baron Mannerheim is the real power behind the Finnish Government. Like the late Marshal Pilsudski, he led the struggle for his country's independence, but, unlike him, withdrew into the background as soon as it was over. Now that the example of Russia and Germany has obliged Finland to rearm, he has once again returned to the political forefront.

Fighting Both Ways

During the war the Baron had the distinction of being decorated by both sides. At the outset he was an officer in the Russian army, where his gallant services were duly rewarded. After the Revolution and the collapse of the Kerensky regime, he escaped to his native Finland and organised the local defence against the Red Army. In this fierce, though little-known, campaign he was supported by German troops and awarded the Iron Cross.

"Ancien Régime"

In spite of a hard life, tall, graceful, black-moustached Baron Mannerheim has never forgotten that he learnt to bow at the Court of Imperial Russia. Suave, with the manners and tastes of a great aristocrat, he is as popular in the drawing-room as in the camp. His conversation has all the naive delicacy of nineteenth-century romances. Complimented by an English girl last spring on the magnificence of the uniform he wore at the King's funeral, he could only kiss her hand and whisper, " Not so beautiful, dear lady, as your toilette."

Bunkered

I doubt whether Trotsky will be able to play golf now that he has been relegated to a lonely farm at the mouth of the Oslofjord. When he was still living in that pleasant little town of sawmills, Hönefos, golf was one of his chief distractions. It is said that he was in the habit of naming his balls after his chief adversaries in Russia. When his score was particularly high, he could always console himself with the thought of how often he had hit Stalin and Voroshilov.

Less Terrible Turks?

The King's recent invitation to General Ismet Inuni, Prime Minister of Turkey, is shortly bearing fruit and London will soon have a chance of welcoming Kemal Ataturk's chief adviser. This marks a great advance in Anglo-Turkish relations, for only two years ago a prominent Turk told me, " We are suspicious of everybody in Europe, and not least of England."

Tweaking the Lion's Tail

Turkish ports are the only harbours in the Mediterranean where British warships have not been allowed to show the flag and an ugly incident not long ago when a British naval officer was killed by a shot from a Turkish sentry proved a severe trial to the patience of bluff Admiral Sir William Fisher, then Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean. Urgent signals from Whitehall that the Turkish Ambassador had apologised hardly made up for the nonchalance of the local officials.

Turkish Delight

Now the King's visit, coming on top of British acquiescence in the rearmament of the Straits, has gone far to efface the memory of

the Lloyd George pro-Greek policy. The waiter who refused all offers for the unwashed cup from which King Edward had drunk coffee was showing genuine Turkish delight.

The Prime Minister Dances

While Ataturk dictates from his rough stone villa at Chankaya, the deaf, birdlike little General Ismet carries on the routine of Government at Angora. Hardworking but obstinate, he clings blindly to the few ideas he brought with him from the trenches. But his master has made him learn to dance ; it was Ismet who gave the first official ball to which Turkish ladies were invited. Some were shy and came veiled. The Gazi tore their veils away. By his orders, the party was a great success, and may even have been enjoyed by the host, who, as usual at social functions, had taken the precaution to start well wined and dined.

The Deaf Ear

Ismet's deafness has often served him as a diplomatic weapon. After the Greeks had been driven out of Smyrna, Kemal sent Ismet to Lausanne to negotiate a new treaty with the Allies. He and Curzon, who was the chief British delegate at the Conference, took an instant dislike to one another. One afternoon Curzon himself read out loud to Ismet a preliminary draft, which failed to meet the Turkish claims. The reading lasted over an hour. At the end, Ismet turned to his secretary. " Tell Lord Curzon," he said, " that I have not yet heard a word."

THE COLOSSUS OF ROME

A STATUE of Fascist Italy, a bronze colossus of over 260 ft. will be erected in the Mussolini Forum by the *Opera Nazionale Ballila* (National Youth Organisation) to celebrate the foundation of the Empire. Several parts of the statue have already been cast and the great stone pedestal is now being constructed.

The famous statue of Liberty at the entrance to New York Harbour is only just over 100 ft. without its pedestal ; " Fascist Italy " will be more than twice its size. Rome has never seen its like. The famous colossi of the ancient world, if they were still in existence, would be mere toys in comparison.

The new statue will weigh 250 tons....There will be a lift in each leg up to the head which will measure nearly forty ft. from the chin to the top of the head. There will also be a staircase the whole way up. A small balcony will command a magnificent view of the Mussolini Forum, of Rome and the country from the Tiber to the hills of Ostia and the sea.—*Il Giornale d'Italia, Rome.*

FROM A GENEVA NOTEBOOK

by ULYSSES
(*Our Geneva Correspondent*)

"AND I am happy to be able to say that for the first nine months of this year over seventy per cent. of the contributions due by members to the League for the current year have been received."

Thus the rapporteur of the small committee which superintends the finances of the League. Is this a symptom ? On all sides so much is said and heard about the debility of the League, its imminent collapse, its utter inadequacy. If this be so, why do States continue to pay for it and pay far more promptly than in the days when there was little disillusionment and still great hope ? Fifty-two out of the nominal fifty-eight members are now in good financial standing.

Perhaps after all, the League is not so moribund as the Press in general would have us believe. Perhaps after all, States still cling to it and strive desperately to make it work.

I will offer no opinion, but I give these figures as a curious symptom, for when this Assembly began its labours, even the most determined optimist might well have paused. There was an air of lethargy about the whole business reflected in the half-filled public galleries for the opening meeting, the apathy of the journalists not so numerous as usual, the half-hearted behaviour of the Press photographers and news-reel men, most of whom preferred to rush off to Nîmes to film the draw for the French lottery rather than Mr. Eden making a full dress pronouncement on British foreign policy.

I have seldom seen a British foreign minister received so coldly. It reminded me very forcibly of the day on which Sir Austen Chamberlain arose and slew the Protocol of 1924—the same glacial silence as he walked to the tribune, the same quietness broken by coughing during his speech, the same feeble clappings, mostly from his own delegation, when he stepped down to his seat.

Whatever may be Mr. Eden's position in England there is little doubt about it in Geneva. A year ago—less, in fact—he was still *le terrible jeune homme qui combatte pour la paix.* He was listened to by great and small. He was the young prophet. He was the authentic voice of that lost generation of which the flower lies in France and

Flanders, in Palestine and Gallipoli, or beneath the indifferent waters of the Seven Seas.

Now he is looked upon as the latest example of the *homme manqué*, the mouthpiece of those too old, too cautious, too tired to do anything but sit in his own phrase, "with folded arms" and await the end. His motives for standing by his party are totally misunderstood abroad, where he is regarded as one who, having tasted power, will not put down the cup even though the draught turn bitter. He seemed pale and ill and his appearance added point to the savage gibe repeated in the corridors of the Assembly that he caught chicken-pox from the child who teaches him his foreign policy.

There is no need to analyse his speech. That has been done already by the daily Press. The small States showed clearly what they thought of it by action when they prevented the Ethiopians from

League Doorkeeper: "Stop! No entrance for you!"

The Others: "But if that bloke is allowed in, why aren't we?"

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome

being politely removed from the Assembly, by applause when they cheered Litvinoff for urging that the League should abandon this " waiting room " policy before it is finally too late.

What's the Use of Italy?

The most interesting, the most ominous speech of the whole Assembly, was that delivered by Senor del Vayo, the Spanish Foreign Minister. He voiced what was in everyone's mind when he spoke of the new type of war, of which the first and most cruel example is being fought out to the death in Spain—the war of one social system against another. The problem of non-intervention hung, a dark cloud, over the Assembly. Senor del Vayo was not allowed to circulate officially his evidence of the amount of arms, aeroplanes, etc., furnished to the rebels by Germany and Italy. He gave the evidence instead to the Press, but no one has had the least doubt of its truth. His frank speech upset both the French and the British, who appear to have striven desperately behind the scenes to reconstruct Locarno. In this task they find themselves without help from anybody. The general tone of the talk among the other members of the Assembly was clear enough. " Even if some kind of a Locarno can be reconstructed, of what use is Italy ? She is tied up in Abyssinia, for which she wants large foreign loans. If you give them to her you will have no guarantee that she will take any active part in coping with Germany. On the contrary, having got what she wants, she will do everything she can to sit tight and develop it. Moreover, as, by condoning her actions in Spain you are letting her virtually control the Balearics and thus neutralise Gibraltar, she will probably use what foreign credits she gets to consolidate this superb windfall and fulfil her dream of making the Mediterranean an Italian lake."

To all questions regarding non-intervention the British replied by saying that any form of embargo which really prevented arms, etc., from reaching the rebels would mean war. Presumably they are convinced of this ; but in that case, as candid friends from Central Europe pointed out, they will almost certainly have to fight to maintain control in the Mediterranean when Franco has won, and at the same time try to keep Germany happy at a moment when France and Russia will alike be most reluctant to help them. Once more the choice lies with the dictators, or rather with Hitler, who has only to wait until

this eventuality occurs to press for a colony and thus bring matters to a head.

Yet if the political activities of the Great Powers in the Assembly were more than usually obscure and ill-directed, the sudden devaluation of the gold bloc produced over night a change in the whole situation of which the effect cannot yet be accurately forecast.

Devaluation Thrust Against Dictatorships

The currency alignment achieved by the three great financial powers was hailed at once in Geneva as democracy's counter-thrust to the sabre-rattling of the dictators. Such it may well prove to be, for if there is one thing that shakes a dictator on his throne, it is a rise in internal prices, and that seems probable in Germany and Italy. So indirectly, but no less effectively, democracy has begun to turn the tables. But it is precisely because this has happened, because there now seems a faint chance of creating a new and a saner economic

HIS LAST HOPE

The Spanish Government protests to the League about the embargo on arms.

"Kladderadatsch," Berlin

order, that the danger is so great. To put it in its simplest possible terms, what will Germany do when driven to economic desperation? I will not attempt to supply the answer, but there were ugly stories going about Geneva of which the truth is difficult to gauge. It is said that the German Government has let it be known in refugee circles that it is prepared to receive back any number of doctors whether Aryan or Jew, and give them full civic rights provided they join the army and reorganise its chaotic medical services. Futhermore, careful observers were pointing out that the curve of German rearmament reached its peak ten days ago and was now slowly but steadily declining, whereas the curves of Britain and France were slowly but steadily rising. The new currency position may well prevent Hitler from spending any more on his forces, since he lacks not only the essential raw materials to keep them at the pitch of modernity, but also the means by which he can now get those materials. "Will he wait till next year, when Britain and France are quite ready?" If I heard that question asked once I heard it a dozen times.

The Man with Something to Say

But to return to the work of the Second Committee. The French and Swiss patted themselves a good deal on the back over the reduction they have made in quotas and tariffs. The British in general disappointed the small States, especially Holland, who looked for something more substantial than a promise to resist the pressure brought to bear on it by various economic interests, anxious to be protected against foreign competition. Still, the general feeling was that a beginning had been made to return to those principles which—it is too often forgotten—were laid down at the Economic Conference of 1927. Anyhow, there was a distinct feeling of optimism in that Committee, due not a little to the personality of Mr. Morrison (of the British Treasury) himself, who made a great impression in international circles. His tall figure, his quiet Scots voice, his impeccable manner of speaking, his extreme accessibility, were something new in Geneva, which has got used to the aloofness of Mr. Eden and other Foreign Secretaries before him. Moreover, Mr. Morrison, though cautious, had something to say. That in itself was an agreeable surprise. Indeed, if by some miracle the multifarious activities of the League could be divorced from politics, it would be one of the most successful institu-

tions of mankind. The work of its health organisation, now about to deal with the huge problem of nutrition, largely at the instance of the British Government, the slow but steady improvement in the conditions of refugees, with the dark exception of the Assyrians, whose lot is still very precarious, the progress made in dealing with drugs and their control—all these and many more problems debated yearly by the Assembly show clearly enough that in so many spheres of life where his own direct and selfish interests are not aroused man can and does cooperate with a slow, but ever increasing measure of success.

Let me mention last one scene, unique in any Assembly—its reception of the delegates from the Brussels' peace congress. This took place one dark afternoon in the old Assembly Hall, now, it is to be hoped, a relic of the past. It was not a formal meeting, but most delegations turned up in force. The exceptions were the British, of whom only Lord Cranborne appeared to listen to his uncle's speech.

Before the proceedings opened the South American President, Senor Saavedra Lamas, was overheard whispering to his secretary in an agitated undertone, " Have you written the brilliant improvisation which is to burst from my lips at the appearance of Lord Cecil ? "

The delegates found themselves listening to short speeches from all manner of persons, ranging from Lord Cecil, who has grown old in the service of peace, to a young English girl scarcely yet out of her 'teens. They spoke all of them with a passionate earnestness, and below them, to point a silent moral, were seated six or seven men, badly wounded in the last war, their crutches loose between their knees. Was it just milk-and-water idealism to talk of peace and how to obtain it before an Assembly of the League of Nations, even though, as had carefully been explained beforehand, the meeting was unofficial ?

NEW FIELD FOR GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

An idea new for Italy is " tonsillar reclamation " for all children of school age. A resolution passed by the Congress of Italian Radiologists recommends that the government undertake to remove the tonsils of every child before being admitted to school. Boys and girls now in schools and universities, according to the proposed plan, would be compelled to undergo operations. For the poor this would be free.

If the plan were carried out, it is estimated that Italian physicians would have about 15 million operations to perform and it would take them ten years before they could reach children just entering school.—*Evening Standard, London.*

CRUSADING JACOBINS

A Rejoinder to "Ulysses"

Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, who is remembered by those who were in opposition to the last Great War as one of the most courageous fighters for peace, has been engaged in our columns in a controversy with our Geneva correspondent over the idea of a democratic crusade against fascism. Here we give her the last word.

DEAR ULYSSES,—The point of my critical enquiry in the August number of this Review was not directed against the whole system of sanctions; too big a subject for a letter. It was a specific enquiry into the meaning of your proposal that Britain should, "instead of vain talk," deliberately throw down, "on behalf of the League, the challenge to all those States who think, like Hitler, that democracy is immoral."

It is hard to see how this could be done "on behalf of" a League of whose European members more than fifty per cent. are ruled by dictators, while, of the eleven more or less democratic countries, only two could be called materially formidable, and one of these—France—is in a financial and political situation not conducive to foreign adventure. Moreover, you were introducing quite a new and very ambiguous test for League membership, namely, that members must not only refrain from war, but must become democratic; according to what standard of democracy you do not, in your reply, elucidate. You speedily drop your democratic test, however, by asserting that "Turkey and Jugoslavia, admittedly not democracies," would have followed a British lead. Possibly; if their interests seemed to require it.

Please do not mistake my meaning in saying that "vast masses, especially of the young and active, find in the totalitarian State satisfaction for their needs and scope for their idealism and service." Theirs, note, not mine. I was countering what is, I fear, a widespread illusion: that the inhabitants of totalitarian States would welcome foreign liberators, and that therefore a small number of democratic powers would find it possible, without abating their democratic virtue, to intimidate, or conquer and subsequently democratise the totalitarians. I cannot imagine any slogan which would more

certainly weld any country into a very nearly homogeneous whole than the proposal to democratise it according to some foreign standard. Even if such a proposal could be carried out anywhere, can we really expect Germans so soon to forget the treachery of 1918, when the Allies assured the vanquished that a democratic Germany would be treated with consideration ?

It is certainly wretched that, so far, much of the revision of the Versailles Treaty has been accomplished, not indeed " at the point of the sword," but by unilateral action on the part of Germany. But Stresemann's "*Erfüllungspolitik*" did not get him very far.

No, I did not even hint that " because Germany has not committed any act of aggression since the war, she will never commit any act of aggression." I should not like to predict so much of any " great " Power. But I do protest against the effort to hold up Germany to execration as the one great source of danger, although she has not committed any external aggression since the League started, whereas so many other States members have been allowed to get away with actual aggression and the fruits of aggression. Germany is now rearming for precisely the same object as all States arm ; they all call it security, but in the case of the " great " Powers it is in order that they may play their part in power-politics. I see no reason to suppose that Germany may not be tempted to use power wrongfully—*tout comme un autre.* Dictatorship is not, as you say, a good cement for alliances, but what we have to fear is not so much a stable combination of dictators as the letting loose of war, which would give all ambitious or disgruntled Powers a chance to fish in troubled waters; and it seems pretty clear that a European war would result in widespread anarchy.

There seems to be a danger of our tempting Germans, by unfair concentration on their misdeeds, to despise foreign expressions of moral indignation and to rely increasingly on their own " German God "—who is no more moral than any of the tribal gods men have made in their own image.

You ask what, then, should Britain do ? There is far more constructive peace-making in Léon Blum's policy of collective neutrality and in the new moves for economic cooperation than in the high-minded Jacobin's desire to fight the good fight everywhere. Dictatorships feed on wars. I would not nourish and multiply them, but leave them to exhaust their finances and their worshippers.

CARTOONS OF THE MONTH

"Heraldo de Madrid"

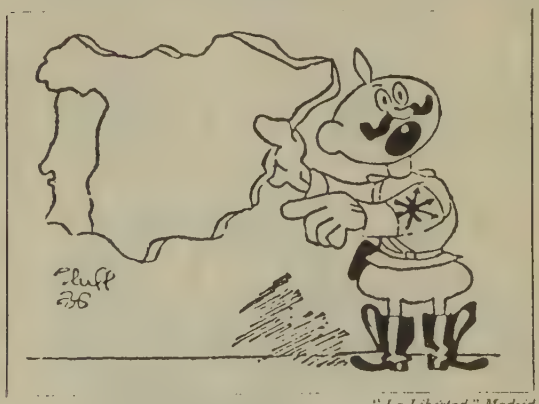
Mahomet: "Now look here, is it you or me who's going to save Spain?"

"De Telegraaf," Amsterdam

John Bull and Marianne: "Why so shy of the non-intervention committee?"
Salazar of Portugal: "Because of my legs"

"Pravda," Leningrad

Portugal: "I refuse to join the neutrality committee. I haven't got a free hand"



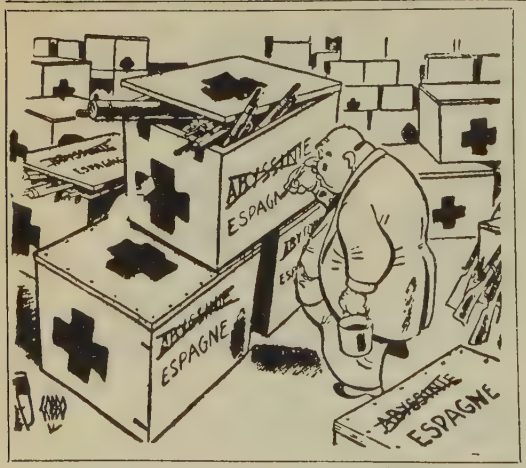
"La Libertad," Madrid

PUBLIC AUCTION
Spanish "Patriot": "Nobody bid any more?"

EXODUS FROM MADRID

"Where will future red revolutions find their leaders, if we don't get into safety while there's still time?"

"*Simplicissimus*," *Munich*



"*Settebello*," *Rome*

THE ARMS TRADE

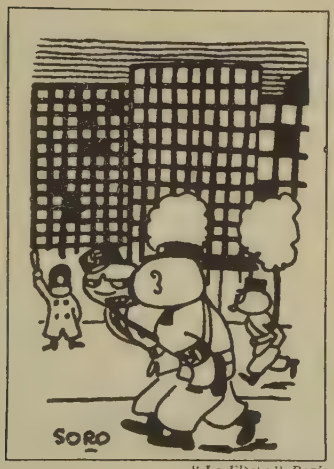
Business is looking up again

"*Politiken*," *Copenhagen*

"And how, General, do you intend to make half of the Spanish people happy?"
"Which half?"
"The surviving half, naturally"

PROFESSOR HITLER'S ANTI-STALIN PILLS— THE UNIVERSAL REMEDY

Doeve, "Haagsche Post," The Hague



"La Flèche," Paris

Fritz: "Which would you rather have—the Ukraine tomorrow, or a couple of sausages tonight?"

HARVEST FESTIVAL IN GERMANY

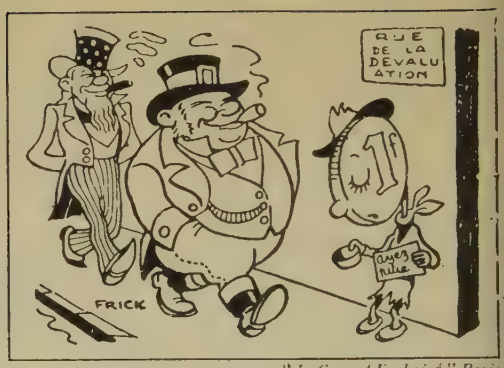
"Are those harvesting appliances?"
"Yes, they are for reaping laurels"

"Humanité," Paris

WHEN THE PROUD FRANC FELL—

"Cyrano," Paris

"In the name of New York and London I baptise you 'Franc Populaire' "



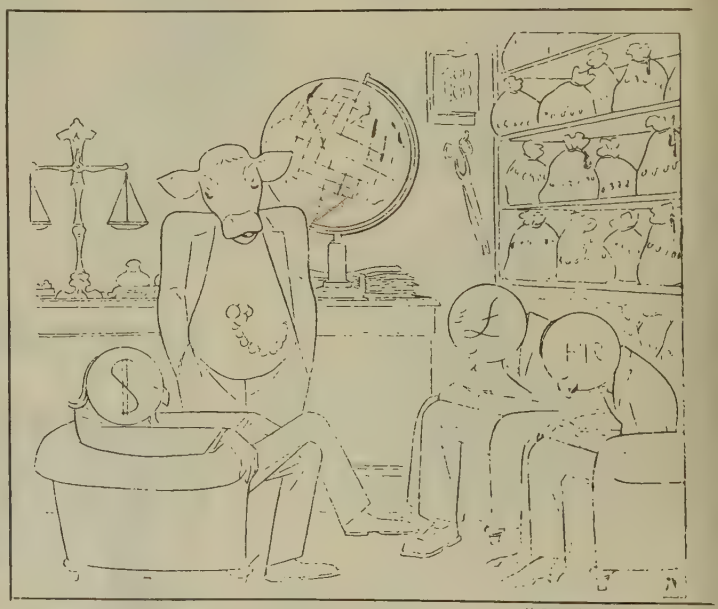
"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

ON DEVALUATION STREET

"Parity, please . . ."

"La Lumière," Paris

"How can they take away thirty per cent of gold from a five-franc piece ?"



"Simplicissimus," Munic

Golden Calf's Three-power conference *chez* Herr Currency-Dictator's

"Devaluation is all very well, gentlemen, but the value of money is stability"

"Marianne," Paris

"There now—and *you* wanted me to wear a belt!"

"St. Louis Post-Dispatch," U.S.A.

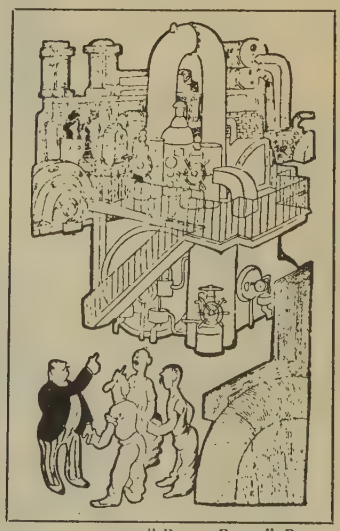
SCHOOL OPENS IN EUROPE

"Marianne," Paris

HOROSCOPES FOR PUPPIES

"Let us see . . . Where was he born? In the drawingroom, under the sign of the Louis XV chandelier, or in the kitchen, under the sign of the smoked salmon?"

"In the wash-house, under the sign of the mangle"



"Prager Presse," Prague

Director: "We must cut down expenses . . . Now for instance, what's the use of that object over there . . . ?"

AN HONOURABLE MEMORIAL TO ENGLISH SENSE

Lloyd George: "I am glad that the march into the Rhineland and even the fortification of the Rhineland, are accepted as something unalterable."

"Kladderadatsch," Berlin

THE DEVALUATION CONCERT

Mussolini: "I shall have to tune my lyre!"

"La Republique," Paris

THE NATIONS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

WHAT NEXT IN FRANCE?

Is France to be the next country torn by internal struggles? Who, if either, will make the move for action—the Fascist Croix de Feu, under Colonel de la Rocque, or the Communists under Maurice Thorez? Will the devaluation of the franc mean increased prices, and thus further and even more serious labour unrest? Is Russia directing the French Communist Party for her own ends? These are some of the questions, vital for Europe, not only for France alone, which representatives of Left and Right here discuss

THE POPULAR FRONT IS SHAKEN

by FRIEDRICH SIEBURG

(*Paris Correspondent of the "Frankfurter Zeitung"*)

LEON BLUM'S activities in Geneva have a purely internal, as well as diplomatic significance. His aim is to give France the leadership, as quickly as possible and more strongly than ever, in the coming international negotiations, so that he may raise the activity of his government, severely shaken by the devaluation of the franc, to the non-party plane of foreign affairs. Blum hopes to paper over the cracks and rents in the Popular Front by an appeal for national unity in foreign policy. France needs more than ever to re-examine her relationship to the rest of Europe; if the government succeeds in doing this, or at any rate in initiating the necessary diplomatic preparations, it may regain a little of its forfeited respect.

The question is: has this attempt at revival come too late? It is the Socialists who bear the brunt of devaluation. They are the ones who will have to defend this measure, without qualification. Radical-Socialists and Communists have to a great extent recovered

their freedom of action, a fact which fully justifies our view of the impending break-up of the Popular Front.

The Radical-Socialists, in spite of all their weakness, have a very clear conception of the part to be played by the State in the Republic. This conception is most clearly expressed in the question of the stay-in strikes. Blum has promised not to put up with them any longer. But new ones break out every day and will one day lead to a schism between the bourgeois and socialist elements in the Government.

Blum Faces a Crisis

This is all the more inevitable since the Communists, in view of Blum's attempts to shake off their influence, are having recourse more than ever to illegal action. The Government fears not only the growth of their influence in the trade unions, in the shape of cell-formations in factories, but even considers that direct action of the Third International on French territory is possible at a not too distant date. It is the opinion of serious politicians that the fears of the authorities are not without justification. The French Communists do not expect to unleash the dogs of civil war by a *coup d'état*, but they want to give proof of their power to the country and to the Government. The pretext for such a demonstration is to be the occupation of Madrid by General Franco's troops, which is now considered inevitable. On the day when this takes place the Communists wish to stage a General Strike in the whole country, and mass meetings in the streets of Paris and other large cities. It is clear that such an event would lead to a crisis, which the Blum Government would perhaps not survive.

There is not only tension between the Government and the working-class, who have been thrown into ferment by Blum's New Deal, but there is also an appreciable revival of nationalist elements, with which no normal and parliamentary government wishes to identify itself. The Croix de Feu is making a fresh and not altogether hopeless effort to penetrate further into the working-classes, and in this is at one with the former Communist, Doriot, who has created a national movement with a severely socialist tinge and is carrying on a bitter struggle against Moscow within the working-class. There is no doubt that the recent active smuggling of arms from Switzerland was for their benefit.

All those circles which are interested in the complete success of

French devaluation—and they are not found only in France—note with regret that social unrest there is increasing. At a time when the authority and credit of the State ought to have been borne high on a wave of undivided confidence, new rents in the internal structure have appeared, which are an invitation to all revolutionary forces to take action outside of Parliament and work directly on the masses. That is why Léon Blum is looking for a new platform in foreign policy, in order to appeal from it to the unity of the French people and to its desire for peace.

DELUDED OVER THE FRANC

From the "Journal des Débats," Paris

THE franc has been devalued. The ministry has absolutely lost credit. It had little left after its exploits since June (when the Popular Front Government took office). The enthusiasm which followed the elections gradually disappeared as the Cabinet received one check after another. The conditions in which devaluation took place have shaken public confidence.

The French feel they have been deluded and robbed by a particularly incapable group of politicians. The Blum Cabinet had promised not to devalue, yet it did so. It appealed to public credit and issued a loan and Treasury bonds, when the value of money was

WAGE AND PRICE RISES IN FRANCE

"Heavens! The more wages you add on, the harder I find it to reach my bread"

"*Kladderadatsch,*" *Berlin*

about to go down. It stands convicted of complete incapacity; or else it has misled the public.

When the Government maintains, after the event, in order to save its face, that it meant to do the things it has done, facts contradict it. It is clear that its extravagance, its budgetary disorder and the outflow of gold, forced it to an operation which it had at first condemned. All this is known to the public.

But that is the past. The future is not less disturbing. Devaluation can only succeed if certain conditions combine, viz., strict economy and a properly balanced budget. After the blow to the Blum no-devaluation Cabinet, the public is wondering whether a fresh repulse to the Blum Cabinet (new style), that is, the devaluationary Blum Cabinet, is not imminent.

The Government does not even seem to have authority over the proletarian groups which it claims to represent and serve, and it seems unable to bring about the social peace which the Radicals, somewhat naively, expected from their collaboration with the Socialist and Communist Parties. In particular, the provisions of the law relating to compulsory arbitration are full of dangers for the economic system and social peace.

THE COMINTERN MENACE

by PIERRE DOMINIQUE

From "La République," Paris (Independent Radical-Socialist)

THE Kremlin has become a sort of Vatican where everything is done *à la russe*, as elsewhere *à l'italienne*, and which directs the Communist churches and chapels of the whole world.

* * *

Our duty today is to know exactly what the Communists are after.

"You want, sirs, to change the form of government, overthrow capitalism, etc. All very well. But at whose orders?"

"Those of Dimitroff, the Bulgarian living in Moscow."

"Under which flag?"

"The red flag, which is the national banner of the Russian State."

"You agree, then, that you are in the service of foreigners, that you fight at the orders of a foreign commander, under a foreign flag.

Do you consider yourselves as legionaries of a Russian foreign legion established on French soil ? "

" Yes."

" Good. We note your avowal. You'll notice that I'm a gentleman. I haven't talked about the pay."

Dimitroff's report to the Congress of the Third International (the Comintern) in August, 1935, is not only at the bottom of the whole political evolution of France since that time, but dominates international policy.

Here is the text. He assumes that Fascism will not crumble by itself and must therefore be struck down.

Dimitroff Gives His Orders

" The working class must be able to turn to its own account the contradictions and conflicts in the bourgeois camp, but must not entertain the illusion that Fascism will collapse of itself. Fascism will not crumble automatically. Only the revolutionary activity of the working class will help it to turn to its own account the conflicts which inevitably arise in the bourgeois camp, in order to undermine Fascist dictatorship and overthrow it."

In other words : Dimitroff recommends insurrection, at any rate in countries which are no longer democratic. He adds :

" Le Canard Enchainé," Paris

ON THE BOURSE

" Is he beginning to go mad ? "
" Just think ! He has gone so far as to declare half his profits illegal ! "

" Cyrano," Paris

Pierre : " You make marvellous parachutists, it seems "
Ivan : " Oh, at letting people down we can't be beaten "

" By liquidating what remains of bourgeois democracy, by erecting violence, openly avowed, into a system of government, Fascism destroys democratic illusions and the authority of legality in the eyes of the labouring masses....."

Communists of all countries know how to play this double game. Their whole policy may be summed up as follows :

By constant action, which may go as far as agitation or even insurrection, the U.S.S.R., the basis of the Third International, must be supported. State organisms will have to accept the Russian point of view. If they do, that is, if they range themselves diplomatically at the side of Russia against the Third Reich, the Communist Parties, instead of taking a class-war line and indulging in subversive activity, will for the time being adopt a national attitude, so as to carry with them no longer a class, but the whole country.

Reds' Strategy

Their method will be as follows (and Dimitroff, on August 2, 1935, demanded its immediate application in France) :

1. A syndicalist union will be established ; the C.G.T.U. will be embraced by the C.G.T. (Conféderation Générale du Travail) and the Communist syndicalists will riddle this with cells. The " proletarian " front will thus be created in the factory.

2. Close ties will be established with the unified Socialist Party, in such a way that the independence of the latter is limited. The " proletarian " front will thus be created on a parliamentary and electoral basis.

3. The next step will be to unite independent Socialists and Radicals in one huge electoral, parliamentary and, if possible, governmental organisation, so as to riddle the great mass of French opinion with cells and to be able, by leading the majority, to lead the whole. " In the mobilisation of the masses of the workers for the struggle against Fascism, a very important task is to create a large popular anti-Fascist front on the basis of the united proletarian front " (Dimitroff).

All this has been achieved between August 1935 and the beginning of May 1936.

What was the aim of the manoeuvre? To improve the lot of the workers?

No. Dimitroff has told us; to defend the U.S.S.R.

THE POPULAR FRONT CARRIES ON

From "L'Homme Libre," Paris

THE majority of the Popular Front is not of course immune from natural laws; little storms shake it from time to time. At the opening of Parliament it was carried along on a great wave of enthusiasm. It formed a compact block..... In the country this "union of the Left" satisfies far too deep feelings and raises too many hopes to be affected by disputes or divergences which are only discreetly expressed in veiled, and nearly always cordial, language.

Three times, too, the Communists have made sacrifices of doctrine or ideas to the Popular Front, which must have been galling to them.

"Il 420," Florence

THE FRANC THAT FELL
"I want to send a hundred francs"
"By postal order or telegraphed?"
"No, as sample without value"

"Le Rire," Paris

"Let's say half a pound of salt at 60 centimes, plus 5% for stay-in strikes, 10% for communist menace, and 15% for danger of war. That makes 80 centimes"

They had expected to use the slogan of a "French Front" with the same success as the slogans "United Front" and "Popular Front." They have run up against the immovable opposition of the Socialist Party and the resistance of a large part of their own troops. Immediately they beat a wise retreat. In the Spanish business there has been the same fruitless effort. They demanded the "raising of the blockade." They implored the Government "not to allow the death of the Spanish Republic." The campaign of the Communist Party finds but a feeble echo in the factories and workshops.

The third strategic retreat took place only recently. The Communists opposed devaluation in the name of financial orthodoxy. Yet when the Government decided to devalue they fell into line; the reason being that their main aim is to maintain the Popular Front. At bottom their attitude can be explained neither by their friendship for their Socialist brothers and their Radical friends, nor by a fanatical love for republican institutions; it is rendered necessary by the international situation and the dangers to Soviet Russia arising from Hitlerist Germany and imperialist Japan. So long as there is no change in the situation, so long as the dangers they see persist, their present attitude will last. It exposes them to losses of influence which they note, not without bitterness, but which they will try to make good by taking the lead in the movement for improved working-class conditions. It must be remembered that they lead three of the most important trade unions: metal, building, and railways.

One could say a lot about the attitude of the Radicals. They remember the bitter war waged on them by the parties of the Right. What is more, they are still convinced that the Republic is not safe from the machinations of the factious elements, and the feverish activity of M. de la Rocque seems to justify them.

M. de la Rocque is the cement of the Popular Front.

WE ARE REVOLUTIONARIES

From "La Flèche," Paris (Popular Front)

WE Frontists are first and foremost revolutionaries. We believe there are structural reforms which must be carried through immediately. It is necessary that these essential modifications should be clearly enumerated. Afterwards, when the surgical operation has taken place, and then only, shall we be able to call ourselves evolu-

tionists. Then we shall be able to proceed quietly with the work of construction. But first the knife must be applied to the sore.

We realise perfectly well that this is not the attitude of the Communist Party, which has reached a quite contrary view: evolutionary first, revolutionary later, much later, when the combined interests of national defence and defence of the U.S.S.R. permit.

We are not the ones who write: "*Everything* is not possible." We are content to demand the indispensable. The indispensable means the crushing of our rulers in the Bank and in the Trusts.

We declare anew that a Government of the people has failed if it proves itself incapable of freeing the people from the tyranny of money.

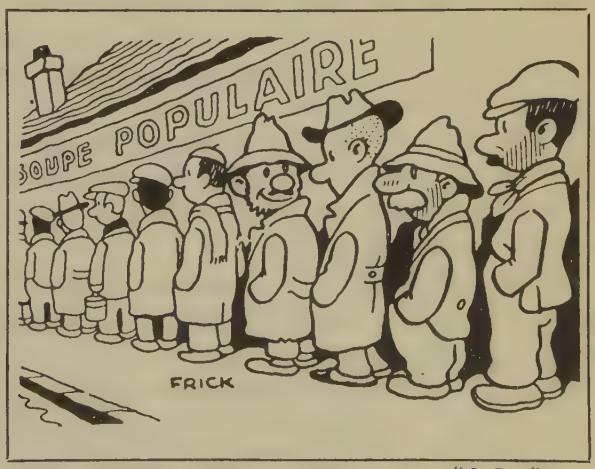
DIVIDED FRANCE

From "La Dépêche de Toulouse."

IN France, alas! we persist in remaining divided. We are entangled in a tissue of contradictions. The Socialists agree on the need for an understanding with Germany, but hate Hitlerism. Our Conservatives look lovingly towards Hitler, while distrusting Germany. Some Frenchmen see the safety of their country in the Soviet alliance; others maintain that that agreement is the plague of our land. There

"*Le Canard Enchainé*," *Paris*

"What, not even a baby machine-gun! I've a good mind to charge you with contravening regulations!"



"*Le Rire*," *Paris*

WHEN THE FRANC WAS "ALIGNED"

"We've had to practice alignment now for a long time, with a view to economic revival"

are some who believe that an understanding with Italy would be the best means of upholding the European equilibrium ; others persist in dragging up the Abyssinian question.

In this dreadful confusion I feel great sympathy for our government. And I believe it to be the duty of every good Frenchman to put his trust in it, to help it, to look kindly on its experiments, to spare it disturbances and unexpected blows.

The foreign danger stands above all other problems ; that should be our slogan.

UNITE!

From "L'Humanité," Paris (Communist)

UNITE! That is the slogan of the Communist Party and it expresses the instinctive desire for union which has always strongly manifested itself within the working classes.

The two hundred families, the La Rocques and other foreign agents fear this union of our people, the fraternal and peaceful alliance of the middle and working classes. For our union is the mighty fortress which bars the way to their designs for slavery and foreign war.

The little parlour game which consists in saying that unity of action will lead to the disappearance of the Socialist Party, or that the alliance of the working and middle classes will be fatal for the latter and that the Radical Party is committing suicide—that absurd game will not take on.

Far from becoming weakened, every one of the organisations affiliated to the Popular Front has prospered, which is proof that the union thus realised is profitable, not only to the workers, but also to the middle classes.

But what need is there to say this ? Our enemies know it perfectly well, and it is perhaps this which is driving Colonel de la Rocque to put forward his zero hour.

"OLD BILL" SPEAKS

IN front of us two night-watchmen were valiantly trying to prevent people falling into a hole where the road was being made up. They had cheerful cockney faces. "We don't care about Mosley or Hitler or Stalin," one of them said, "but we don't want you to fall into this bloody hole."—*From eyewitness's report of Fascist-Communist riot in East End, 'Time and Tide,' London.*

FRANCO'S PLANS FOR SPAIN

From the Burgos (rebel headquarters) Correspondent of "Le Temps"

WE must not forget that the "Nationalists" are far from all professing the same ideas and proposing the same programme. There is no doubt that strong ties, a common ideal of order, of catholicism, and of nationalism, unite them in their struggle against Marxism. But their differences are none the less real for all that. The leaders do not conceal them and the least penetrating of observers, having seen them, might well wonder whether disunion will not follow victory.

By laying the foundations of the new Spain in the person of General Franco, the Burgos junta has put an end to all disputes. The programme of General Franco, although succinct, indicates sufficiently that he has taken into account the wishes of all who are with him, and that, though he means to end their disputes, he also intends loyally to give each ideal an equal chance of success.

The various parties enrolled under the same banner may be classified as follows: the "phalanx," traditionalists, Popular Action, Renovation, and nationalists. To complete the list we may add the army, which is the directing force of the combination.

The "phalanx" is the real Fascist element. Of quite recent origin, it was founded by Primo de Rivera, son of the former dictator, in October, 1933. In its early career it was persecuted by all sides, by the Right as well as by the Left. The victory of the Right in the elections of November 1933 anything but favoured it; the Lerroux government closed down its offices, forbade its meetings and the wearing of uniforms. But the organisation was secretly kept in existence.

The elections of February, 1933, saw the triumph of the Popular Front. The extremists of the Left gained control of the streets and the Right did not oppose them. It was the phalanx which resisted the encroachments of Marxism. The "phalanxists," says Federico de Urrutia, their propaganda secretary, are to be the leaders of the new Spain, when the Army has finished its purifying mission. The phalanx is composed of two elements. In the one is youth, the fighters; in the other, all the elements of the cooperative social economic organisation, the embryo of the State of tomorrow. The present

movement, says the secretary of the provisional junta, will have three phases: the first is the military coup d'état, which has been only a partial success. In the second, the people will join the movement—that means victory. And the third will be that of the national revolution, which will be the task of the "phalanx," by whom the State will be rebuilt from top to bottom.

The traditionalists (formerly Carlists) have origins going back to the first half of the nineteenth century. "We entered this struggle," says their leader, "simply because it was for us a moral duty. The terrible condition of the country compelled us to use force in order to restore law and order. Of course, we sacrifice none of the principles of our political creed (Catholic unity, corporativism, *fueros*, traditional and legitimate monarchy), but today our sole aim is to save the life of our country, to ensure respect for the Catholic religion, to exterminate the leprosy of Marxism and the thousand times worse leprosy of separatism.

"The army," said General Mola, "took the initiative for very simple reasons. It constitutes in the nation that element which is most sensitive to the ideas of honour, tradition and patriotism. When, as was happening in Spain, these ideas are in danger of perishing, the army is no longer merely the armed force of the nation, but is the nation itself in arms. In the present movement there is no doubt that the initiative and the leadership has fallen to the army; but at its side is the whole people, with the exception only of traitors in the service of Communism, freemasonry and other anti-national forces. When military operations are ended, there will be operations which we may call civil, with the object of completely uprooting the doctrines, the organisations and the interests which have led to the situation which has compelled the national movement to act. The organism entrusted, after the Junta of defence, with supreme power, will be of a military nature, even if it is surrounded with all the necessary advisory bodies and collaborators of every kind. General Franco's mission will be to liberate, to reconstitute and to make Spain great. He will have to free it from all forces hostile to its traditions and to its spirit, to reconstruct it materially and spiritually, and to make it great by a wise and continuous policy, which will develop wealth, stimulate and protect labour and guarantee order at home, peace abroad and justice for all."

BRITAIN REARMS

From the "Frankfurter Zeitung"

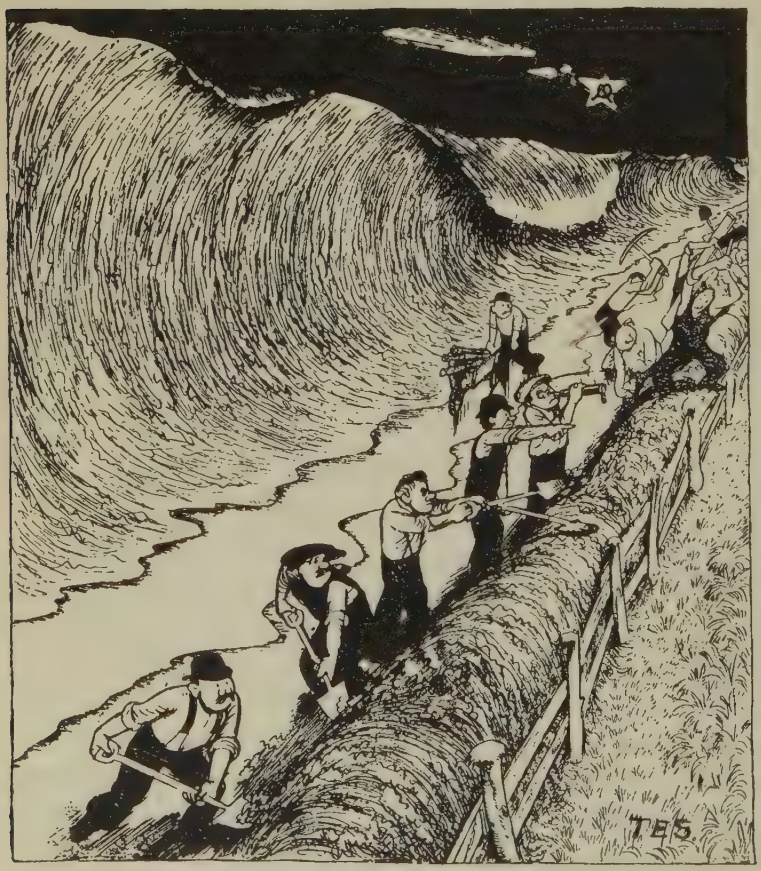
Britain's huge rearmament has called forth no expressions of alarm from the Continent, except, perhaps, from Italy. While France openly welcomes it, Germany merely points a moral and says: "We told you so"

ENGLAND is rearming. Her programme of construction is the largest ever undertaken by her in peace-time. The world must realise that Great Britain will, with unexampled energy, strengthen her military might in the shortest possible space of time. Even the Labour Party has had to bow before the force of facts by declaring in its Edinburgh resolution that one's own military strength is determined by the military strength of a possible aggressor. The reasons put forward in England for the armaments programme were outlined at the Conservative Conference in Margate by Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Neville Chamberlain with all the authority of men who are responsible for England's policy at the present moment. Hoare spoke of the "bitter experience" they had gone through in discovering that England's weakness, even her supposed weakness, was a disturbing factor in international politics. The Chancellor of the Exchequer affirmed that there was no greater deterrent to war than a full development of Britain's air power. England has made up her mind, in virtue of her armaments, henceforth to permit no more disturbances in international politics. Disturbers of the peace are certain to pay attention when they hear that England's military security and international peace are from now on one and the same.

At Margate both speakers were at one in condemning unilateral disarmament. The French Press cannot conceal its satisfaction over this newly-acquired British conviction, and repeatedly emphasises it. Unilateral disarmament has suddenly become a cause of disturbance to equilibrium, an unfruitful sacrifice for a Utopia.

Germany will listen to all this thoughtfully. It is a belated recognition of facts, which is to be paid for by the greatest rearmament the world has ever seen. Germany preached to deaf ears when for ten whole years she pointed out the absurdity of the unilateral

disarmament imposed on her. All the arguments put forward by English statesmen to-day are the German arguments of the post-war period. Did we not declare again and again that a country cannot remain defenceless when surrounded by heavily armed neighbours? When Sir Samuel Hoare gave details of the armaments of other countries, Russian, French and American (there was no mention of Japanese), he especially emphasised the growing military might of Germany. He added, however, that he did not want to criticise or attack any country, he was just stating facts. It would be of value if world opinion were at the same time to remember that Germany for fifteen years disarmed unilaterally, and that it was only the "bitter experience of the last year" which convinced Great Britain of the questionable value of such one-sidedness.



THE ENGLISH LABOUR PARTY VOTES FOR RE-ARMAMENT
With the Red Wave unnoticed the workers say: "Let us build a dyke to keep the Fascist menace out."

"Brennessel," Munich

HANDS OFF!
Mr. Eden Helping Herr Hitler

At the October meeting of the League Mr. Anthony Eden made rather vague references to the possibilities of treaty revision contained in Article 19 of the Covenant. The reception his speech met with in Geneva is described by "Ulysses" in another part of this paper. Here we give comments from Czechoslovakia, a country which owes its existence to the post-war treaties and is therefore—with its allies of the Little Entente—the most likely to resent any talk of revision.

From "Lidové Noviny," Brno

TO some delegations at Geneva Eden's speech came as an even greater surprise than the decision about the Abyssinian delegation. Without any warning he raised the question of the revision of the Peace Treaties. He gave the impression that England is anticipating the plans of Chancellor Hitler.

From the "Prager Presse," Prague

IN Little Entente circles Eden's initiative has been very favourably received, for it is certain that it will not lead to any concrete result. Assurances have been given by those in close touch with the British delegation that it was not Eden's intention to make any definite proposal for a modification of Article 19.

From "Venkov," Prague

EDEN'S speech has aroused in Czechoslovakia an understandable interest. If we interpret it rightly, it signifies the separation of England from the anti-revisionist bloc and is a sign of the struggle going on in European politics to win over Germany.

Hitler is in the happy position of being able to choose between England and Italy. For our part, we must attach importance to the declaration by which England refuses to give guarantees for Eastern Europe, and most of all to the efforts being made to reform the League by allowing revision in accordance with Article 19. Nevertheless, Eden did not define the range and the extent of a measure of this kind.

Probably Great Britain will not want to pledge herself to any territorial revision, because a strong executive would be necessary to put it into practice. England is sacrificing everything in an attempt to regain her maritime prestige and her position in the Mediterranean. Czechoslovakia's position is not easy in the midst of Anglo-Italian rivalry. It is obvious that for us neither the East nor the West is a centre of gravity. The Little Entente is opposed to Hungary's revisionist claims. . . . The aggressive attitude of Eden is the result of the internal weakening of France, which is reflected in international affairs.

From "Národní Listy," Prague

IF revision is considered, the first question to be raised will be that of Germany's former colonies. It was unwise of British diplomacy to speak of treaty revision in such a general way as Mr. Eden did. It is certain that England does not need to pay so dearly for Germany's signature to a new Locarno Pact.

A SWISS COMMENT

From the "National-Zeitung," Basle

IT is strange that the practical English people cannot realise the consequences of sanctioning treaty revision in principle. The British idea that out-of-date treaty conditions ought to be capable of change by collective action would in practice lead to a complete undermining of such stability as still exists, put a stop to all economic progress and destroy all confidence. For there are always impatient revisionist interests, through whose fanatical zeal we should experience a whole series of clamorous revisionary claims and perpetual unrest.

MONACO, BULWARK AGAINST BOLSHEVISM

SIR—In view of the serious prejudice which might be caused to this district by incorrect reports of industrial trouble, may I ask the courtesy of your columns to make it clear to British readers, and especially to tourists, that the Principality of Monaco is an independent State, and that strikes are not permitted.——M. AUDRA, Manager, Office National du Tourisme, Monte Carlo—*Daily Telegraph, London.*

GOOD-BYE, WAR!

ONE way to assure the peace of the world would be to arrange that a nation couldn't have another war until it had paid for the last one.—*Labor, Washington, D.C.*

SUBJECTION OF THE ARAB PEOPLE

by AOUNI BEY ABD-EL-HADI

Although the Arab leaders have now called off their strike in the face of Britain's might, and the way is cleared for the Commission of Investigation to start its work, the settlement of Arab grievances still remains as a problem which will be peculiarly hard to solve. Here we give both sides of the question, beginning with a letter which—according to "Palestine and Transjordan"—was written to "The Times" by Aouni Bey Abd-el-Hadi in his capacity as Secretary of the Arab Higher Committee, but was not published

THE Arab attitude is in no sense inspired by sentiments of intolerance towards the Jews or of lack of sympathy with them in their efforts at finding a refuge from persecution. It is dictated by motives of self-preservation, that is to say by the knowledge that a Jewish National Home in Palestine, as the Zionists conceive it, can be established only at the sacrifice of the national existence of the Arabs. There was no opposition to Jewish settlement in Palestine before the war, when it was a purely humanitarian surprise. It was only since the war, when Zionism had become a political movement with nationalistic aims, that Arab opposition was immediately aroused. This opposition sprang from the belief that the execution of the Zionist programme would deprive the Arabs of the enjoyment of their natural rights and lead to their political and economic enslavement. The experience of the last eighteen years has turned that belief into a certainty.

To take the political aspect first. Palestine is one of those Arab territories in which Great Britain pledged herself, in return for Arab help in the war, to recognize and support an independent Arab government. (The allegation that Palestine was excluded from the scope of the MacMahon pledges cannot be seriously considered so long as it remains unsupported by the only evidence that is conclusive, namely that contained in the MacMahon correspondence itself.) It is also one of those countries whose independence was recognized in Article 22

of the League Covenant. Its claims to autonomous development are not less strong than those of Iraq who is now, thanks largely to British goodwill, an independent member of the League of Nations, or less good than those of Syria whose independence has been recognized in principle and who is now negotiating in Paris the conditions of her admission to the League. Across the Jordan, a former sub-province of Syria has been set up as a separate Arab state with an Arab ruler and government. It is only in Palestine that the Arab people are still kept in a state of political subjection, under an administration of the type adopted in the most backward colonies. And the sole reason for so unfair a differentiation is that it is designed to further Zionist aims.

On the economic side, it is the Arab contention that the policy hitherto pursued with regard to Immigration and to Lands has led to the creation of Arab unemployment and to the permanent displacement of tens of thousands of Arab cultivators from land on which they had been settled for generations and centuries. These cultivators who in the vast majority of cases had no say whatever in the sale to the Jews of the land on which they earned their livelihood have been forcibly compelled to give up for ever the rural life they had inherited, and to

A GIBE FROM ITALY

"Is this good oil?"
"Yes, it does eight corpses to the litre."
(The oil pipe-line running to Haifa has been frequently cut by Arabs)

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome

seek work in the towns, on the highways, or wherever they can earn a wage. It is not merely the economic hardship that one deplores, but also, and still more, the demoralization which overtakes people when they are abruptly transplanted from the occupations and surroundings which have moulded their lives and character, and in which they had their deep roots.

It is part of the Zionist case to represent that those hardships have not in fact occurred, at any rate not to any appreciable extent. On this point, I would cite the findings of qualified investigators who are neither Arabs nor Jews but Englishmen of repute. I have in mind the reports of Sir John Hope Simpson and Mr. Lewis French, both of them distinguished civil servants of recognized experience and integrity, who carried out from 1930 to 1932 the only thorough investigations ever made into the subject. Their findings went a long way towards upholding the Arab contention. On the subject of the shrinkage of land holdings caused by Jewish acquisitions, Sir John wrote : " In fact, the average existing fellah holding is insufficient to maintain anything like a decent standard of life." On the subject of immigration and its effect on the labour market, he wrote " It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that unemployment among the Arabs is a serious feature of the economic life of Palestine at the present time." This shows to what a pass, looking under the surface, the Arab cultivator and labourer have been brought. It must be remembered, too, that these findings deal only with material aspects. They do not take into account the moral damage which, as I say, is more serious and deplorable.

Arabs Are Poorer

One of the difficulties surrounding the Palestine problem is that the issues have been confused by propaganda and ill-informed comment. Among the statements most frequently made are those which represent the Arabs as having *benefited* from Jewish enterprise. Such statements are fundamentally untrue, no matter what outward appearances may be. For although it is true that a number of individuals and concerns have made profits from the sale of lands and from the increased volume of business, it is equally true that the competition set up by the Jews with their greater command of capital, the concentration of the country's resources into Jewish hands by the arbitrary grant of monopolies (e.g. the Dead Sea Concession, the Rutenberg works,

the Huleh Concession), the unfair discrimination in the matter of wages, and a host of other factors which it would take too long to enumerate, have contributed to make the Arab population on balance much poorer, and more particularly the peasant class whom we regard as being, with the labourers, the most deserving of protection. To quote Sir John Hope Simpson again : " Evidence from every possible source tends to support the conclusion that the Arab fellah cultivator is in a desperate position." Those words were written in 1930, after thirteen years of " beneficial " Zionist enterprise in Palestine. The position to-day is considerably worse, in spite of the numerous remissions of taxation which the Government has had to allow in mitigation of the miserable plight of the peasants.

But even were the Zionist boast of prosperity admissible, we refuse to accept the view that the economic test is the only or even the principal test. There is the political aspect, to which I have already referred, and there is the moral aspect. The forces underlying the Arab movement are moral before they are economic. We believe in the values implicit in our culture, our traditions, our conceptions of human relationships. We understand and we sympathize with the desire of the Jews for a homeland of their own ; but we say that there is no room for a second nation in a country which is already inhabited. The strike and movement for non-co-operation came into being spontaneously, as a gesture of protest against the policy hitherto pursued ; and the only fruitful lesson to be drawn from it is that nothing—not even real as opposed to fictitious material benefits—will make the Arabs subscribe to their national extinction.

THIS IS WHAT BRITAIN PLEDGED

by ALBIN JOHNSTON

From the "Post-Dispatch," St. Louis, U.S.A.

MUCH has been heard, indirectly, of the celebrated MacMahon-Hussein correspondence. It has never been officially published and is still guarded in the British Foreign Office. From the late King Feisul and his ex-Chancellor, Ihsan el Djabri Bey, the writer secured complete résumés of the eight famous letters and a photostatic copy of the " reaffirmation " of previous pledges, made by Lord

Balfour when he was Foreign Secretary and a year after the famous Balfour Declaration.

In the first letter, King Hussein, Cherif of Mecca, to MacMahon, dated July 1, 1915:

> Cheriff Hussein offers military aid against the Turks to the Allies in exchange for recognition of Arab independence within a territory limited by: On the North a line through Mersina and Adana and following the frontier to the Persian Gulf. On the East the Persian frontier to the Persian Gulf. On the South the Indian Ocean. Aden, however, being left to the British. On the West the Red Sea and the Mediterranean to Mersina.

The second letter, MacMahon to King Hussein, is a reply in which MacMahon, in the name of the British Government, declares that:

> The interests of the Arabs are identical with those of Great Britain and Great Britain intends to recognise the independence of the Arabs and the Caliphate as soon as it has been proclaimed. Furthermore, Great Britain will favour the transfer of the Caliphate to a descendant of the Prophet. The discussion of the frontiers of the Arab State is considered to be premature.

The third letter, dated September 9, 1915, is a reply from King Hussein in which:

> King Hussein insists upon the settlement of the frontiers and declares that in all Arabia there is a single Arab element. All Arabs demand their independence and realisation of this wish is plainly in accord with British interests.

The fourth letter, dated October 24, 1915, from MacMahon to King Hussein, conveys in the name of the British Government a note saying:

> The districts of Mersina and Alexandretta, and those parts of Syria extending west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama, Aleppo should not be considered as purely Arab. With these modifications and without prejudice to existing treaties with Arab chieftains Great Britain accepts the proposed frontiers. As to those territories where Great Britain is free to act without prejudice to the interests of her French ally, I am authorised to give, in the name of Great Britain the following assurances: The British Government declares that it is ready to recognise and defend the independence of the Arabs in the territories comprised within the limits and frontiers proposed by the Cherif of Mecca.

Then follow assurances concerning Bassorah and Baghdad and the character of the assistance Great Britain is to lend the Arabs.

The fifth letter is King Hussein's response, dated November 5, 1915. It declares:

> I am unable to renounce the districts of Aleppo and Beyrouth for the reasons that these regions are purely Arab provinces and that there is no difference

between Christian and Mussulman Arabs, seeing that the two elements descend from the same ancestors.

Hussein, however, accepts the modification of the frontiers in so far as it concerns Adana and Mersina.

The sixth letter, MacMahon to King Hussein, written December 13, 1915, states that the British :

> Having taken under serious consideration observations of His Majesty (Hussein) and without accepting definitely, since the interests of France, Great Britain's ally were involved, Great Britain, having promised her assistance to the Arabs, will never make a peace with the Turco-Germans in which the independence of the Arab nation will not be recognised.

The seventh letter, dated January 1, 1916, is from Hussein. In it he agrees :

> To drop, for the duration of the war only, the question of the Liban, in his desire to avoid difficulties among the allies who are fighting for a common aim. (King Hussein adds, however) That it will be impossible to admit the slightest derogation which will give to France or any other Power a foothold in these regions.

The eighth letter, dated January 25, 1916, is MacMahon's final reply in which he :

> Frankly recognises, and entirely appreciates, the motives which have guided King Hussein in this important question and the motives which inspire his defence of Arab interests.

MacMahon further states that : "The British Government have taken note of the remarks of King Hussein, concerning Mesopotamia, and that they will be taken under serious consideration when the enemy has been vanquished and the moment for pacific regulation has arrived." The letter thanks King Hussein, in the name of the British Government, and declares that henceforth the Arabs will be considered as allies.

It was a year later, in 1917, that Lord Balfour, British Minister of Foreign Affairs, agreed to sponsor the famous Balfour Declaration.

REPLY TO ARAB GRIEVANCES

by ISRAEL COHEN

From "The New Judæa," London

THE Arab leaders base their claim to a "national representative Government" upon a promise of independence alleged to have been made to them during the war. This allegation was disposed of by

the White Paper of 1922, which declared that Palestine was excluded from the Arab territories to which independence was promised on condition that they rendered the Allies active military co-operation. Besides, the Arabs of Palestine never revolted against the Turks, nor did they give any assistance after Allenby's army had already advanced into the country. Another conclusive proof that there was no pledge of independence to the Palestinian Arabs consists in the Pact of Friendship concluded on 3rd January, 1919, between Dr. Weizmann and the late King Feisal, son of King Hussein, and the principal Arab representative at the Peace Conference, reinforced by Feisal's own statement in a Memorandum to the latter, that he asked for the independence of various Arabic areas with the exception of Palestine—" on account of its universal character."

Arab Farmers Prosper

More frequent complaint is heard about the conditions of Arab agriculture, and the insinuation is made that the Palestine Administration or the Jews, or both, are responsible for any shortcomings in this sphere. The facts indicate that the contrary is the case. The Mandatory Government has devoted special attention to the interests of the Arab farmers. It has provided extensive loans at very moderate interest in order to displace the usurious Arab moneylenders, who often charge as much as 30 per cent. for loans to distressed cultivators. It has established the only agricultural college open to Arabs out of a legacy left by an Eastern Jew (Sir Ellis Kadoorie). It has encouraged the formation of co-operatives for the purchase of seeds and the sale of produce. It provides seeds for distribution to farmers, carries out citrus research and demonstrations, encourages fruit-growing and promotes forest plantations.

The most important feature in the development of agriculture has been the expansion of the citrus industry. In 1922 the Arabs had only 20,000 dunams (5,000 acres) planted with oranges, but by 1935 their citrus plantations had increased to 130,000 dunams, representing an augmented value of about £10,000,000. Before the war the small area planted with citrus was owned by wealthy Arab landowners. But in recent years Arabs with limited means have also been able to plant groves, for the peasant, by selling part of his land, has obtained sufficient capital to develop the rest on modern lines. Besides, Arab farmers sell

their agricultural produce to Jews to the extent of £1,500,000 per annum.

When the riots of 1929 took place it was said that one of the main causes was that tens of thousands of Arabs had been displaced from the land by Jewish settlement. The thorough investigations carried out by experts appointed by the Government revealed that over a period of 12 years there were only 656 heads of Arab families who had been so displaced. It then provided the sum of £250,000 for the settlement of the displaced Arabs on fresh holdings, but by the end of 1934 only 43 availed themselves of the offer of the Government (which had acquired 17,868 dunams at a cost of £72,240), the remainder having become absorbed again in agriculture or found other employment. Thus, the " displaced Arabs " myth was completely disposed of in 1934. (*See* Palestine Government's Report for 1934.)

The aforementioned is not the only case of land for the Arabs provided by the Government. In 1921 an area of 70,000 acres in the Beisan district was given at a nominal price to a number of Arab squatters, and many of the beneficiaries disposed of large tracts which they did not need for themselves at a big profit. Two years ago a Jewish company acquired a concession for the development of 14,000 acres in the Huleh Valley at £200,000, the ultimate cost of which will be very much greater after the marshy land has been reclaimed ; and in granting the concession the Government made it a condition that over one-fourth of the land, after being drained at Jewish expense, shall be given free to the Arabs at present squatting on it.

More Arabs in the Country

The Arab leaders complain that, owing to the immigration of Jews, the existence of the Arabs in Palestine is endangered. The fact is that since 1919 the Arabs have increased by 50 per cent.—from 630,000 to 940,000, and their growth has been most marked in those districts where there has been the greatest progress in Jewish settlement.

The immigration of Jewish workers is strictly regulated by the Government according to their view of the economic absorptive capacity of the country, and the labour schedule submitted by the Jewish Agency every half-year is invariably reduced by the Government very substantially, although there is employment available for all those for whom certificates are requested. There are also other cate-

gories of immigrants, of which the most important is that of persons possessing a minimum of £1,000. The amount of capital brought into Palestine by Jews of this category in 1935 was about £16,000,000. The total amount of private Jewish capital introduced since the end of the war is £80,000,000, and to this amount must be added over £10,000,000 received by Jewish national organizations (Keren Hayesod, Jewish National Fund, etc.). It is inevitable that part of this money has found its way into Arab pockets.

Jewish Land Purchases

The complaint is made that the Jews are rapidly buying up the greatest part of the land and that the Arabs are being driven away from it. In fact, the Jews, who number 400,000 and are about 30 per cent. of the population, possess only 310,000 acres out of a total of 6,000,000 acres, that is, about 5 per cent. Most of the land that the Jews have bought consisted of large estates of landlords living either abroad or at Haifa or Beirut. In Turkish times tenants could be evicted without compensation, but the Jewish colonizing agencies gave them compensation in every case of eviction and prepared the way for the laws for the protection of tenants. A great deal of the land, generally bought at a high price, was originally swampy, and the Jews have had to expend considerable money and labour in making it suitable for cultivation. Yet the Arabs persist in alleging that the Jews have bought the most fertile land.

If the Jews went on purchasing land at the average rate of the last 15 years, i.e., about 11,000 acres per annum, it would take more than 100 years to purchase half of the cultivable land of Palestine, on the assumption that the sale of land will be free from any restriction.

The Arabs also complain that, according to the Hope-Simpson Report, they should have a minimum subsistence area of 130 dunams (4 dunams equal 1 acre) per family. But the calculations in that report have been proved to be wrong. According to experts of the Jewish Agency an area of 75 dunams of unirrigated land or of 15 to 22 dunams of irrigated land would suffice (the smaller area for oranges).

They also complain that they are excluded from employment on Jewish land. In fact, before the outbreak of the present troubles, there were about 8,000 Arabs employed in 12 Jewish agricultural settlements, in some of which they were actually in the majority. It is only on land

of the Jewish National Fund—about a fourth of the total Jewish area —that Arabs are not employed. This is because the Jewish National Fund is supported by voluntary contributions from Jews all over the world given to buy land that shall be the inalienable property of the Jewish people ; it leases land to Jews only to such an extent as they can work themselves, and since there is no Jewish hired labour on this land there is no justification to complain if there is no hired Arab labour on it. The underlying purpose is to ensure that there shall be Jews who are tillers of the soil as well as workers in towns.

It is generally admitted that the progress in Palestine is largely due to the labour, capital and enterprise systematically applied by the Jewish settlers. The Government has now accumulated a surplus of about £6,500,000, which is twice as much as its annual expenditure. It is due to the enormous developments in agriculture, industry and commerce that the Government was able to construct the harbour at Haifa, which is of far more than commercial importance. Thanks to the improved financial position, the Government has reduced considerably the duties on tea, coffee and sugar (by 50 per cent.) and made large remissions of arrears of tithes and loan repayments.

* * *

The Arabs complain that they have been deprived of political rights that they enjoyed before the war. The reference is to the fact that they were able to send a few deputies to the short-lived Ottoman Parliament in Constantinople, but their deputies were unable to secure the passing of a single measure in the interest of Palestine. On the other hand, the progress made in the country in the past 16 years has been far greater than any that it can be said to have made in the previous 16 centuries.

As for the right of municipal self-government, this is exercised by the Arabs, with the additional advantage of the guidance provided by the British Administration and with the aid of Government loans that were unknown in the days of the Turkish régime.

Throughout the period of the occupation of Palestine by the Arabs, the country never formed a separate State nor did the people in it have a separate political existence or a distinctive culture. The Arabs of Palestine form part of the great Arab race, which now numbers 38 millions and occupies nearly 2½ million square miles, extending from the Atlantic seaboard to the Euphrates and the Gulf of Persia.

The Arabs are among the richest nations of the world in respect of land, and their culture is absolutely free from any menace. In Asia alone there are Arab territories comprising nearly 1¼ million square miles, which are sparsely populated and to a great extent uncultivated.

On the other hand, the Jewish people, which has been oppressed and landless for the last nineteen hundred years, has no other country in which it can develop its national life and build up its national home except the land of Palestine, which forms less than a hundredth and twentieth part of the total area inhabited by Arabic-speaking populations in Asia, and where there is ample room for Jew and Arab to work in peaceful and beneficent co-operation.

SYMPATHY FROM INDIA

From the "Amrita Bazar Patrika," Calcutta

THOSE who have watched the course of events in Palestine will scarcely be surprised that Britain has at last been compelled to put the country under martial law. It is, if anything, an indirect admission that British rule in Palestine has failed to bring about peace and that it is only by the force of arms that the Arabs may be expected to submit to the foreign yoke.

That affairs in Palestine would come to this pass was almost a foregone conclusion. The Arabs, who since the War have been fed on false hopes and treacherous promises, have at last been thoroughly disillusioned ; their faith in the honesty of the Mandatory Power has been rudely shattered ; and if they have taken up an unequal fight it is only because they are convinced that there is no other way left for them by which they may record their protest against imperialist iniquity.

No wonder that the Arabs are angry. Palestine, they say, belongs to them ; there are six Arabs to one Jew in the country ; they meet the cost of all the development undertaken by the British, paying annually two and a half million pounds to Britain, while they paid only a hundred and eighty thousand to Turkey before. And yet Britain cannot make up her mind to give up Palestine, which is fast becoming the vital trade-route between the East and the West. The new motor and air routes between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf as well as the

new oil-pipe lines, must be controlled in British imperial interests. And Palestine must learn to subordinate her national aspirations to these British imperial considerations if she is ever to be declared fit for self-rule.

PERFIDIOUS ALBION

From "Il Tevere," Rome

IT is only too clear that Great Britain is profiting from the mutual massacring of Jew and Arab in Palestine. More than ever she is applying the old principle "*divide et impera*," which the English follow in India and in the four corners of the Empire. But the situation in Palestine has the additional advantage for the English of allowing them to effect a concentration of troops there which, without this pretext, could not have taken place openly. World opinion, grown accustomed to its daily quota of disorders, is expected to look on this dispatch of English military forces as natural and justified. Information issued by the English is discreet; as for the indiscretions of others, they are drowned in the noise of uninterrupted and systematic disorders. Soon Palestine will become an enormous British barracks, without "right-thinking" Europeans showing the least concern.

England is reinforcing all her military positions in the Mediterranean. And yet, in respect of Palestinian territory, it is Britain's duty to give an account of her administration to the League. But where is the League? Where is the Mandates Commission which had been perspicacious enough to believe that England would see to the well-being of the Palestine peoples? The English thesis is: "Let us restore order, and we will then give you an account of our administration." But once the territory in question has been transformed into a formidable military, naval and air base, once the *fait accompli* has triumphed over law, the Mediterranean equilibrium will be found to have been completely shattered

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BAD LUCK

THAT at this date engineers in Madrid can drive a tunnel for an underground railway from two ends, miss in the middle by yards, and leave the project derelict, is to the Spaniard merely a mishap that wins his ready sympathy, but it is symptomatic.—*Professor W. C. Atkinson, "Fortnightly Review," London.*

HUMAN BEINGS RE-MADE

CONVICTS BUILD A CANAL

From "Sovietland," Moscow

BEFORE speaking of what this construction represents, it would be well to explain why we are building a canal to connect the Volga and Moscow rivers.

The shallowness of the Moscow River has precluded any thought of serious navigation. But it is not merely navigation that suffers from the lack of water in the Moscow River. The insufficiency of water, which makes it strongly polluted by the refuse of the city, has a painful effect on all plans for improvements in the city.

Before the great October Revolution, Moscow was a city of very little culture. The prerequisites for a cultured existence, particularly in the workers' quarters, where gloom and filth had reigned for centuries, were not present. At the beginning of 1918, the consumption of water per inhabitant of Moscow was approximately 80 liters a day. To understand what this figure means in terms of cultural backwardness, it should be recalled that in Paris the average consumption of water per inhabitant is 450 liters a day, while in New York it is more than 500.

When the canal is finished and the waters of the Volga swish below the grey walls of the Kremlin, every inhabitant of Moscow will be assured of 500 liters of water a day. The consumption of water per person in the Red capital will equal that of the largest city in the world—New York.

Moscow will be converted into a sea port. Through the Marinsk river system and the Stalin Baltic-White Sea Canal it will be connected by water with the White Sea, and through the Ladoga and Neva rivers with the Baltic. Steamers will travel down the Volga to the Caspian Sea, and after the Volga is connected with the Don River, will follow a deep-water channel to the Azov and Black seas. Moscow will be a port of five seas! Three-decked Diesel boats on the Volga will take the proletarian tourists of Moscow for pleasure trips down the broad channel of this ancient Russian river. The suburbs of the capital will be beautified with extensive green parks. The boulevards and squares will sparkle with fountains.

In order to give an idea of the magnitude of our construction, let us compare the Moscow-Volga Canal with other canals of the world. Only the Panama Canal exceeds it in volume of excavation required, but it too must yield to the Moscow-Volga Canal with regard to length.

The volume of the ground work on the new canal, is more than seven times as great as that required for the Baltic-White Sea Canal. Nevertheless, the construction of the Moscow-Volga Canal is an integral continuation of the Baltic-White Sea Canal, for both serve two functions at the same time. Both remake geography and both remake the consciousness of tens of thousands of builders who yesterday were active enemies of society. The Moscow-Volga Canal, like the Baltic-White Sea Canal, is being built by the forces of the corrective labour camps of the Peoples Commissariat of Home Affairs.

Yesterday's Criminals at Work

It is with the hands of yesterday's criminals that dams and locks are being erected, a bed dug out and hydro-electric stations built.

In our camps every law breaker is reformed by means of labour, regardless of whether he was a conscious class enemy, an incorrigible criminal or a proletarian who had slipped away from his normal course of life. Our task is to re-educate every law breaker, converting him into a useful member of our society of workers.

What is a corrective labour camp ? It has no bars. The camp is a unique kind of workers' settlement, set up for the purpose of carrying out a definite construction project. The camp lives an intensive, full-blooded life. It has its own press comprising publications in various languages.

A well thought out system of premiums, in the form of clothes, food, quarters and other supplies, rewards the best shock workers and social workers of the canal.

A sympathetic, attentive attitude, which does not permit any lowering of human dignity, must be maintained by all administrators, whether prisoners or free employees.

The camp is supplied with everything necessary for the health and cultural life of the collective. Warm, clean dormitories are kept in order, under the supervision of the medical staff and representatives elected by the army of canal workers.

Shock workers on duty supervise the kitchens to see that food is of good quality and properly distributed. A sanitary commission, composed of three members, takes care that the life of the camp is clean and hygienic.

Many who belonged to the Baltic-White Sea Canal army are now working on the Moscow-Volga canal as free employees. A considerable part of the administrative junior assistant engineering and technical personnel are former prisoners from the Baltic-White Sea camp who have not only been given their liberty as a reward for honest work, but have been given high honours—orders of the Soviet Union. The slogan of the Baltic-White Sea Canal, " Let us Bury Our Past in the Bottom of the Canal," resounds through our camp with iron-willed conviction.

Requests from workers who have been set at liberty, to be allowed to continue working on the canal until it is completed, are a common occurrence. Many, upon leaving the camp to return to their homes, ply us with letters full of touching concern about the progress of the particular work they were doing and of love for the construction.

Political Education

The cultural and educational departments of the Peoples Commissariat of Home Affairs camps carry on extensive work in the political education of the canal workers. Hundreds of political circles bring the fundamentals of political literacy to thousands of members of the camps. Schools for the illiterate and semi-literate, supplied with necessary textbooks and equipment, provide the canal workers with regular instruction, calculated to give them the necessary background for technical training.

Eighty-eight clubs and 1,015 Red Corners in workers' barracks, carry on a vast amount of amateur art activity. The members of the camp decorate not only their own dormitories, but the places where they work, with streamers bearing slogans, pictures and art models. Most of it is done by amateur artists.

Since the Baltic-White Sea Canal days, special attention has been given to advancing the more talented of the ex-criminals. The central studio directs the branch circles and arranges periodic exhibits of the work of the canal artists. In the opinion of authorities, these exhibits, permeated with optimism and the joy of life, reveal a number

of growing talents among the camp members.

The propaganda brigades and amateur musical circles have trained a large group of talented workers. The choral circles are numbered by hundreds. Outstanding among them for its originality is a gypsy chorus made up of former horse thieves, who sing verses about the canal and its shock workers set to the music of old camp tunes.

KULAKS SETTLING DOWN AGAIN

From "Severnaïa Pravda," Archangel

Russia's former kulaks, or comparatively well-to-do peasants, were transported to the White Sea coast when their land was collectivised. Here is a picture of their new life in the Arctic Circle

AROUND us the taïga. Above the taïga a hostile sky. The only desire which at that time animated all the new arrivals was expressed in one word: escape. But they stayed. A settlement arose in the forest. An agricultural collective of 185 families was organised within two years. Its members belonged to different nationalities, but they all had the same social past; they were kulaks. Each one of them had possessed several score, some even several hundred, hectares (2½ acres equals 1 hectare) of land, from 8 to 10 horses, shops and inns; each had employed from 15 to 20 agricultural labourers. They could tell a lot. But they don't like to remember the past, preferring to talk about the present.

More than 200 hectares of woodland have been cleared. The Collective farm now has ploughed land, 180 hectares of pasture-land, 40 horses, 25 chickens and 170 head of cattle. Agriculture provides a considerable income to the members of the *artel*. But it is from exploitation of the forest that they get most of their income.

The whole district knows the names of the Stakhanovites of the *artel*, who have reached record figures in the felling of trees. It is not surprising that many of them have regained their civic rights. Yet they do not leave the coast. Why should they? They possess a house, a vegetable garden and cattle. They live there with their family. They have learnt, kulaks and parasites, to respect work.

CITIZENS AND VANDALS
Whose Streets are Most Littered?

by GEORGE A. SOPER

From "New York Times Magazine"

It may surprise some people to read that Londoners are regarded as exemplary citizens in comparison with untidy New Yorkers. But even they don't get the full marks reserved for Austrians

ALMOST any of Europe's notable streets might be contrasted with a similar one in New York, and New York would suffer by the comparison. Kaertnerstrasse, for instance, is generally recognised as Vienna's Fifth Avenue, although one can walk the length of it in half an hour. It is in the heart of the old city, in some spots so narrow that two cars abreast are all that can pass. Yet its shops are among the finest in the world, rich in wares and brilliant in display. Walk down Kaertnerstrasse from the Opera and notice how neat it is.

It is true that bananas are rare and expensive in Vienna, that chewing gum is not popular. It is true that matches cost extra, so that the Viennese is inclined to get a light from the first passer-by who has a smoke already going. But chocolate bars are cheap and so are Italian oranges, and smoking is as evident as in New York. In Vienna, however, if you have a bit of silver tinsel to discard, or a handful of orange peels or a cigarette butt, you instinctively hold on until you reach the litter basket. Should the wary eye of a policeman catch you throwing anything into the gutter he would pick you up promptly and you would be fined.

Should you happen to visit Kaertnerstrasse at some time about dawn, you would see scores of blue-aproned scrub-women scouring the sidewalks with soap and brush. No cans or bins are visible; they are stored away somewhere inside and are carried out only when the garbage truck arrives.

Now look at Fifth Avenue. It is, no doubt, for a busy thoroughfare, one of New York's neatest streets. The crowds that hurry along, the incessant traffic, are unknown in Vienna; but Fifth Avenue has more space for such bustle. Here you will see plenty of litter about, and you will then see scraps of paper and other rubbish

cast away by pedestrians. You will sense, in this matter of litter, a vast civic indifference.

There was once a Fifth Avenue shopkeeper who tried hard to keep his single block of sidewalk clean, ordering his men to record the litter they had to clear away. At the end of several weeks he estimated—on the basis of what was found on his own strip of sidewalk—the total daily deposit of litter on Fifth Avenue's sidewalks between Thirty-second and Fifty-seventh Streets. The figures were surprising: 34,400 pieces of paper, 30,400 cigarette butts, 30,000 matches, 8,400 dabs of chewing gum, 2,800 cigar butts, 8,400 miscellaneous scraps. Total: 114,400 items. And this in the élite shopping district—a district of first-class merchants and supposedly first-class pedestrians!

Exemplary London

In the heart of London the visitor can make an excursion of three miles from Kensington Gardens, through Hyde Park, across the busy traffic at Hyde Park Corner, and then on through the Green Park and St. James's. It is a clean and pleasant walk; on holidays thousands of Londoners loiter through these parks, cherishing them and feeling that they are their own.

Linger a moment in Kensington Gardens. As you stroll down to the Serpentine's bank, where the bronze Peter Pan with his mice and rabbits strikes a cheery note, you may observe how tidy, yet how free, the scene is. People lean over the wire railing and toss breadcrumbs to the water fowl. On the river a husky sculler pulls by. Far off at one end there are bathers. Rare shrubs and precise flower plots decorate the promenades and open spaces between tall old trees.

On the lawns children are playing and hosts of dogs—all sizes and breeds—dash among them excitedly. A flock of grey sheep, unfenced, unmolested, crops the grass in the distance. Older folk recline on the sward in canvas chairs provided by the park. There are lunch baskets overflowing, but when the eating is done no traces of food are left behind. And no one dreams of plucking the flowers.

Now turn from London to New York City, from Kensington Gardens to Central Park. Take a hot Sunday in summer. Thousands of the city-bound seek a green haven on the lawns. They spread newspapers to sit upon, and leave them behind when they go away.

They buy confectionery and packages of food from the strolling vendors, and drop the wrappers carelessly. The flower beds are raided, shrubs are often uprooted, even the branches of sturdy trees are broken. There is apparently a certain type of citizen who is seized with the spirit of vandalism.

What is it that makes the New Yorker so indifferent to civic property, which is as much his as any one else's? Why is it that vandals do damage which has been estimated at $540,000 a year in the parks of the metropolis?

Basically, it is the degree of civic consciousness possessed by the citizen which explains why the American defaces his parks and litters his streets while the European keeps his tidy and trim. And the civic consciousness that the American lacks and the European has is usually a product of environment, a way of thinking, a manner of life.

To judge by behaviour, the average American has no feeling for public property. What is every one's, he feels, belongs to no one. He is not conscious of sullying his own thoroughfare when he discards litter on the streets, and the police force apparently shares his lack of feeling. In theory, the police should enforce all laws; in practice, the sanitation ordinances are not included....

What Comes of Individualism

It may be that the tradition of individualism, so potent in some respects, has something to do with the American's lack of civic pride. From early youth he is nourished on tales of personal prowess—of adventurous lone scouts and trappers, of generals, statesmen, inventors and wizards of big business. In athletics the performance of the individual stirs him most—the team merely provides a setting for the star.

So it is with the American's outlook on his government. National affairs and individual politicians may rouse him strongly. But the prosaic problems of local government, no matter how vital to his health and comfort, leave him strangely untroubled. He is not moved by appeals to his sense of civic responsibility.

Among Europeans, the Germans have a strong co-operative character that goes far to explain their excellent reputation for municipal orderliness and cleanliness. There are few places in the world where streets are swept with such care, unnecessary littering so avoided,

refuse collected so efficiently, as in German cities.

Perhaps this is because the German, from earliest childhood, is accustomed to group activities—to marching with his fellows, to choral societies, to team gymnastics and mass exercises. Or it may be because the German is used to authority, to a supervision of all of his actions, to a police surveillance that spurs on his sense of civic cleanliness.

Yet the fact remains that he looks upon his city's management as a co-operative undertaking, dependent for success on the individual citizen. When, several years ago, political riots raged through Berlin, and police authority was flouted, the mob milling about the Reichstag still took care not to tread on the grass in the parks or on the flower beds.

Turning to the English, one finds a temperament entirely different from that of the authority-loving Germans. But a similar respect for streets and parks is evident, a similar co-operative care for their good appearance. The English are among the world's leaders in the management of municipal wastes.

* * *

Many of their cities, like those of the Continent, have litter baskets on the streets. It is interesting to observe how much these are depended upon. In Liverpool a smoker was noted who filled his pockets with burned match stubs when he could not find a receptacle. At Stonehenge, because there was no basket, a hole in an ancient monolith was used for refuse.

Vandalism does not occur in the British parks. One hears the remark constantly that parks must be left as neat as they are found.

This method agrees with the customary attitude of the bobby on the street, with his smart helmet and arm-band, proclaiming that he is engaged in his official employment—which is to guard property and assist the public and not to give them orders.

AUSTRALIAN ELM LEAVES FOR GERMANY

THE fallen elm tree leaves, which litter streets every autumn and are usually raked into heaps and burned, are this year being carefully bagged and treated with a new respect. The explanation is that the leaves of elm and apricot trees apparently have a commercial value in Germany, where they are said to be used in the manufacture of a certain chemical.—*Sydney Morning Herald.*

EAST OF SUEZ

THE CONTINENTAL POWER

by KAZUYE KUWASHIMA

(*Director of the Asia Bureau of the Japanese Foreign Office*)

From "The Japan Times," Tokyo

Japan is no longer just an island State, but a Power on the Continent of Asia. Her conquest of Manchukuo in defiance of the League of Nations in 1932 has brought her into active contact with Soviet Russia on the borders of Manchuria—not to mention British and American financial interests in China. What has she accomplished in Manchukuo? After five years, writers here state, she must confess that colonisation there is a failure, and her surplus population unrelieved. Must she turn southwards to more fruitful and congenial lands?

TWENTY-FIVE years have elapsed since the establishment of the Chinese Republic by revolution, but the relations between the two countries since then can hardly be said to be amicable.

Things eventually came to such a pass that the rights and interests secured by Japan in South Manchuria as a result of her costly war with Russia were threatened by China and this culminated in the Liusukou affair in September, 1931.

Manchukuo was thus established, and this still further embittered the situation between Japan and China ; which is indeed regrettable. No one, however, can deny that, now that the relation between the two countries has been rendered closer, economically and politically, it is urgently necessary for both to realize a friendly relationship.

China has a wide territorial area and rich natural wealth, it is true, but as long as she remains on unfriendly terms with Japan, she will be unable to readjust her difficulties, both national and international. It is an encouraging sign, however, that the Chinese have now come to understand the true significance of the situation. It is superfluous to point out that Japan, for her part, has a vital interest in the China question.

Before the establishment of Manchukuo, Japan's policy towards

China, in the main, had been similar to the policies of Britain, America and other Powers ; that is, to obtain concessions and extend rights and interests. Now that Japan has secured a firm footing on the Asiatic Continent and has thus become a continental power, her position towards China ought naturally to undergo a fundamental change. Japan's international considerations naturally take in Manchukuo inseparably, and Manchukuo is also vitally associated with Soviet Russia and Mongolia.

Japan now finds herself in a fundamentally different position from that of either Britain or America. Japan is in duty bound to act in such a way as to share common existence and prosperity with the other countries of Eastern Asia. Though Japan's desire to attain an economic development in China may naturally be the same as hitherto, even this desire of hers must now be more positively based on the principle of mutual existence and prosperity

For China's Good

As for Britain, which took the lead in trade with China, and other Occidental Powers, it may not be too much to say that they still regard China wholly as the secured market for their goods and as a place of investment for them. These endeavours on their part must have brought and may still bring benefit to China, but this, essentially speaking, is based on a desire to benefit themselves. Japan's economic endeavour *vis-a-vis* China is based on the fundamental principle of assisting China in her economic development and in her pursuit of national prosperity. China must fully recognize the solemn fact that as a result of the establishment of Manchukuo, Japan has become a regular continental country. To that end China must be prepared to encounter many difficulties and overcome them in pursuit of the great aim of harmony and friendship between Japan and herself.

JAPAN MUST EXPAND

From "Jiji," Tokyo

ACCORDING to the Cabinet statistical bureau, the natural increase of the Japanese population last year totalled 1,028,000, setting an all-time record. It seems settled that in the future Japan will have

to accommodate a yearly increase of one million in its population. This number roughly equals the number of annual emigrants which the Overseas Ministry intends to send abroad in the future.

At this stage it should be admitted that the Government's emigration programme to Manchukuo has proved a failure, in view of the fact that Japanese agricultural emigrants to the new state since 1932 have involved only 1,800 families. This failure may be attributed to the unsatisfactory basis of the emigration programme for Manchukuo, which was drafted by the civil and military members of the Government.

Japan has repeated the failure of the Government-controlled emigration to Formosa twenty years ago. This year the authorities intend to send to Manchukuo 1,000 families. It would be wiser for the Government, instead of attempting to increase the number of Japanese settlers in Manchukuo, to try to improve the condition of the farming families who have already gone to live in the new state, for instance by opening new industrial opportunities exclusively for Japanese.

In the future it will be difficult for the Japanese Government to continue its emigration programme towards Brazil, because of the restriction provisions recently enforced in that country. Brazil restricted the number of Japanese immigrants to 2,800 persons a year, but, as the result of patient negotiations, this number has been increased to 6,000. Shortly after this concession, however, trouble developed in Brazil over Japanese land ownership and this question has not yet been satisfactorily settled.

In future it will be most advantageous for this country not to concentrate on any one country as the object of its emigration plan, but to look to as wide a field as possible for sending surplus Japanese abroad.

Southward Expansion

The policy of so-called " southward expansion " is at the moment receiving extensive support in this country, but this movement tends unnecessarily to stimulate foreign suspicion against this country and is therefore likely to obstruct the natural development of Japanese interests abroad. Mr. Nagata, Overseas Minister, recently warned against exaggerating the country's alleged requirements for a vigorous

expansion southward.

The foremost problem for Japan at present is to emphasise the peaceful intentions of Japanese emigrants and at the same time to pursue determined efforts towards consolidating international peace by inducing wealthy Powers to redistribute their resources and remove the barriers against Japanese trade.

BELGIUM OF THE EAST

by M. ANATOLYEV

From " Moscow Daily News "

Though Japan may not have settled many colonists in Manchuria, she has not been idle, Soviet writers state. Strategic railways are appearing, in preparation, they believe, for The Day

FOUR years prior to the beginning of the Manchurian occupation the then Japanese Premier Tanaka submitted a memorandum to the Mikado stating : " In order to conquer China we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. In order to conquer the world we must first conquer China."

" Manchuria and Mongolia are the Belgium of the Far East," wrote Tanaka. "During the Great War, Belgium became a battlefield. In our wars with Russia and the United States we must make Manchuria and Mongolia bear all the horrors of war. We must violate the neutrality of these territories. . . . If we look into Japan's future we must admit the inevitability of a war with Russia in the fields of northern Manchuria."

On 18th September, 1931, Japan began her invasion of Manchuria. Soon afterwards this vast country, which has a territory two and a half times as large as Japan and a population of over thirty millions, fell under complete Japanese domination. The first object, the capture of Manchuria, was thus achieved. The Japanese imperialists were then faced with the second object, that of converting Manchuria into a vantage ground for the future " great war." Japan's activities in subsequent years have been devoted to this object.

An important part of this plan consists of building strategic railways. Japan is anxious to reduce the time necessary for the transportation of her forces from the islands to Manchuria.

It is significant that all the new railways built by the Japanese since the occupation of Manchuria run in the direction of the borders of the U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic.

The total length of the Manchurian railways is about 9,500 km., of which 2,784 km. have been built since the Japanese occupation began.

The Japanese had also invested large funds in the construction of automobile roads which, at the beginning of 1936, had a length of 17,000 km. These roads, too, terminate at the borders of the U.S.S.R. and M.P.R.

Air lines are also being developed on a large scale. At the present time 7,000 km. of air lines are being operated in Manchukuo. There are 60 aerodromes and 150 landing fields, most of them not far from the borders of the U.S.S.R. and M.P.R.

A number of factories have been built to supply the army with equipment. Among these are the Shiowa metal plant with an output of 450,000 tons of steel and 350,000 tons of iron per year. A chemical plant with a yearly production of 180,000 tons of sulphate-ammonium has been built near Dairen.

Government by Coercion

The Japanese in Manchuria literally depend on bayonets for their power. The 130,000 Japanese troops in Manchuria are kept busy fighting anti-Japanese detachments throughout the country. Not only they, but 100,000 Manchurian soldiers and numerous police and punitive expeditions as well are occupied in the same way. Nobody in Manchuria supports the Japanese. Even the reactionary princes are beginning to oppose them.

The population of Manchuria has been reduced to the worst possible plight. The peasants have been ruined. The best peasant lands are being seized by the Japanese. The cultivated area has been reduced by over 600,000 acres.

The situation in the cities is just as bad. Constant wage cuts lead to economic and political strikes. Strikes have lately occurred in Harbin, Fushung and other industrial centres of Manchuria. Opposition sentiments among the Chinese bourgeoisie have been growing as the Japanese have captured the most important economic positions in the country and are driving Chinese capital out of trade and industry.

The preparation of the Manchurian vantage ground exacts a heavy

toll in Japanese lives. According to data of the Japanese war ministry, during the first four years of the occupation alone, 2,884 officers and privates were killed, 1,316 died of diseases, 11,310 were wounded and 140,000 were sick or suffered from frostbite.

Everybody knows that during the last five years the Japanese provocations on the Soviet and Mongolian borders have caused serious tension in the Far East. Many times attempts were made by the Japanese militarists to cause a war between the U.S.S.R. and Japan. It was only the Soviet Union's desire for peace, the consistent peace policy pursued by the Soviet Government, which prevented the Japanese war incendiaries from starting a conflagration.

This does not mean that the Japanese militarists have given up the thought of making war on the U.S.S.R. As Stalin stated in the conversation with Roy Howard, Japan represents a zone of war danger in the East. The Soviet Union is therefore keenly watching the work of the Japanese warmongers, and is prepared to repulse any attack with crushing force.

MUST JAPAN OPPOSE A UNITED CHINA?

From "Nichi Nichi," Tokyo

GENERAL CHIANG KAI-SHEK has brought order out of chaos in China and political unification of the country will soon be achieved. The Japanese people and the Japanese Government believe that complete stabilisation of China will assist in controlling peace in the Far East and that Chinese prosperity will inevitably bring closer Sino-Japanese relations. For these reasons Japan has been hoping for China's unification.

Not only does Japan want unification, but it is ready to help China in many ways. China, however, is antagonistic to Japan, according to reports from the Continent. Preparations to oppose Japan are being made as unification progresses and closer relations with Europe and America are sought. Efforts are being made to strengthen defences. If this is true it is doubtful whether Japan should encourage the unification of China.

In shaking hands with the Western Powers, China paints Japan as the imaginary common enemy. Further, the support of the Powers

is enlisted to aid China in perfecting its defence against Japan. Japan opposes the encroachment of western political or military influences in China because it is inimical to the peace of the Far East. Japan has made great sacrifices in the past in its desire to prevent these inroads and their resulting menace to peace. Japan's hopes and aspirations threaten to be defeated by China's unification. This is why the nation's hopes may be revised.

China may close its doors to others in order to develop its own industry. China is, however, an agricultural country and this programme does not take care of the interests of the farmers. Large sums spent in unnecessary economic reconstruction will only be at the expense of the farmers. If this is true, China must collapse, speedily and inevitably.

Japan's hopes for the unification of China as a means of consolidating peace in the Far East will have to be abandoned. In the end, unification by General Chiang makes the country a menace to the peace of East Asia and will lead China's economy to confusion.

However, Japan must not interfere with the consolidation of China, no matter how dangerous it may be, unless the peace of Japan and East Asia is really menaced. In that case Japan cannot remain silent. This country must be constantly vigilant.

THE RED HAND IN CHINA

From "Chugai," Tokyo

Japan is suspicious that China may be looking outside for help against her. In spite of General Chiang Kai-Shek's war against Chinese Communists, there are rumours that an agreement may be in preparation for a united front between China and Soviet Russia. Germany, too, is suspect, in spite of the western world's belief that Hitler has a friendly agreement with Japan

THE existence of a secret treaty between China and the Soviet Union has been reported from time to time since last fall, but we have reason to doubt the accuracy of these reports. It is hard to believe that the Soviet Union should be a party to an agreement with China in view of the lack of faith displayed by China towards it some years ago, and that China on its part should be intriguing with the U.S.S.R. at a time when there are so many problems calling for its

attention at home. But there is no suggestion that China and the U.S.S.R. will not co-operate. The massing of troops in the Far Eastern territory of the U.S.S.R. is explainable only by the fact that Moscow is intent on taking advantage of the antagonism between Japan and China to put pressure on this country. It is also conceivable that China, not content with pitting European and American countries against Japan, should be thinking of relying on the U.S.S.R. against this country. The leaders of the Chinese Communist army do not make a secret of their anti-Japanism. In the circumstances, it is hard not to believe that the U.S.S.R. is influencing the present attitude of China toward this country. Incidentally, the Soviet Union is not the only foreign country desirous of seeing China resisting us.

HITLER OVER CHINA?

From "Asahi," Tokyo

SHANGHAI dispatches report the conclusion of a German-Chinese secret agreement whereby Germany is enabled to export to China 100,000,000 yen worth of munitions in exchange for China's raw materials. Perhaps these reports are reliable.

Immediately before and after the signing of the German-Manchukuo trade agreement the Reich's representative, Dr. Otto Kiep, visited China and was apparently planning something. Rumours were then rife that a proposal was made for a railway loan to China. But now that the reports of a German-Chinese munitions agreement entered into between the two countries have been received here, we can perhaps easily understand what might have been the nature of the dealings then conducted between the German representative and Nanking. The Reich has dealt adroitly with the two countries of Manchukuo and China in really businesslike fashion!

The Reich's economic advance in China of late years has been marvellous. In 1935 she far outstripped Britain in her trade with China, coming close behind the heels of Japan and the United States. The present attempt of Germany as revealed in the reported German-Chinese agreement might be interpreted as her measure to make ever closer the economic relations between Germany and China, but the very fact that by the conclusion of this pact China is assured the importation of German munitions, makes the situation extremely grave.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We welcome correspondence from our readers on any subject connected with international affairs. Letters intended for publication should be as short and concise as possible.

I AM THANKFUL TO LIVE UNDER A DICTATOR!

SIR—While admitting that your interesting magazine tries to give your readers an impartial view of happenings in the world, your editorials unfortunately show a decided bias and a distorted view especially of what you call the dictatorship countries.

"The proof of the pudding is in the eating." Can you deny that Germany, Italy and Portugal are more prosperous, safer and saner, since able men took over the administration of these countries after your so-called democracy had brought them to the brink of ruin?

I decline to consider the Soviet Republic a dictatorship, since it is simply a regime of terror, upheld by a few million armed ruffians who hold nearly two hundred million helpless people in a slavery worse than anything history has recorded for many centuries. You have to go back to the times of Jenghis Khan to match the record of twenty million people murdered or starved to death, to make Russia safe for what you call "democracy."

You are doing England an injustice by calling her a democratic country. She is an aristocracy, ruled by a comparatively small class of well-to-do people who have inherited the instinct of government from their ancestors and by a clever appreciation of changing conditions have managed so far to retain the reins.

The true democrats, that is the Labour Party, have never gained a real influence—fortunately for the England which I admire sincerely—and seem unlikely to win a majority in Parliament as long as the nationalistic parties are led as cleverly as they are.

You are holding Sweden up as a shining example of a truly democratic country. She is, in a way, but you overlook the fact that Sweden is also one of the richest countries for her size in the world. With the natural resources she has it is easy to play at democracy.

Take conditions in Germany, however. Robbed of her last resources by the combined efforts of the Allies, who broke their word to her, and of the Reds and Pinks, who either were entirely in the pay of Moscow or were spineless pacifists who still believed that they could gain the friendship of the ruthless rulers of France and her allies by licking their boots; starving with over six million men out of work, twenty million dependents without support, and living on the dole or helpless charity, promised, if she behaved, justice, general disarmament, and peace and goodwill for ever—and as reward for her subserviency treated as a pariah amongst the nations.

And what has dictatorship, as you call it, made out of her: a proud, self-esteeming nation, having work for everybody who is willing and able to work, with very little misery and taking care of her poor, old and infirm, not as a matter of charity but as a duty of the well-to-do towards their less fortunate countrymen; with a fanatical belief in the future of their country, not as an aggressor, but as a vindicator of her rights as a nation; with an unshakeable belief in the greatness of the MAN who created the present Germany, and in the ability and integrity of the men around him,

to whom he is delegating his authority.

And is not Germany the true and ideal democracy, not the caricature of a democracy as is set up in the France of today, and in most of her allies, where a comparatively small group of financiers, armament magnates and self-seeking politicians are goading their unwilling people into a panic, to make them think themselves threatened and run amuck out of fear ?

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* defines "Democracy" as: "That form of government under which the people rules itself, either directly, or through representatives . . . . The essence of modern representative government is that the people does not govern itself, but periodically elects those who shall govern on its behalf."

Every single word of this definition fits the Hitler regime.

Hitler received a large majority of votes of the people, although the Marxist government used every means in its power to defeat the rising tide of Nazism. Come to power, the elected representatives of the people took their place at the head of the nation, put through the reforms which saved it from imminent ruin, and Europe from becoming a slave-state of the Soviet; and in practically every year so far caused an independent and free vote of the population to be taken, to make sure that the steps they had taken met with the full approval of the people. Can there be a more representative and more democratic government ? Is there any record that an entirely uncontrolled vote brought its government a percentage of 98 per cent voters and of these nearly 99 per cent. approving of the government ?

What you call dictatorship is an outcome of conditions. As long as people have fairly satisfactory lives, they let the government muddle along, do not bother much about the mistakes, silliness or dishonesty of their mostly self-appointed rulers, and are satisfied to make their living. But let it come to a showdown, a fight for existence or the choice between wholesale starvation or better government, then a people does not elect just another politician, but a real *man* emerges, takes hold of the reins and generally saves the country.

This has happened in Italy, in Portugal, in Germany, Turkey, Persia —and in a way also in England—the United States, France, etc., during the war, when it was a question of life or death for the nation. What else were the Lloyd Georges, the Wilsons and Clemenceaus, but dictators who imposed their will upon their nations and thereby enabled them to carry through ?

A Clean Record

I thought I was dreaming when I read that you "wondered whether there is after all so much to choose between Soviet and Nazi methods." You might as well follow the pacifist principle and call an honourable soldier a murderer on a level with the fiends who murder unarmed men, women and children, destroy churches and torture priests and nuns to death in Spain at the bidding of the Soviet Government. In contrast herewith there has never been a more peaceful and orderly "revolution" than in Germany. Never a cleaner government and never a man who could in the course of three years change an outcast nation into one of the recognised moral leaders of the world, without drawing the sword or uttering a threat against anybody who respects the natural rights of the nation he has to guard.

Could Hitler and his paladins have done what they achieved if they were the contemptible curs a venal Press is calling them ?

You write "of growing discontent in Germany now that the Olympic circus is over and there is not much bread."

It takes a sorry courage to call this awesome spectacle of the best of every nation meeting in fair and honourable contest with the aim at establishing amity instead of hatred amongst the nations—a circus. However, you may rest assured that Germany has as much bread and meat and other necessities as she needs, and that there will be fewer people starving or freezing in the whole of Germany than there will be in London, Glasgow or Wales.

I am not a German, although German-born and a hard-boiled business man. I have lived abroad for thirty-five years, have resided and done business in three continents, and am living now in Buckau, formerly a citadel of the Reds, where a man in Nazi or Steel Helmet uniform could not go the length of a block without being assaulted with deadly weapons. And now! Nothing but smiling faces, well-dressed youngsters flirting on the corners where the sullen Reds were standing scowling at everybody who had a clean shirt and a decent necktie, where one was accosted by beggars on every corner and had to look on comparatively helplessly while deserving men, women and children were starving through the incompetence and the dishonesty of their political leaders.

I am grateful to Providence that I am living under a dictatorship, and over sixty million Germans feel the same.

R. Kimbara.

Magdeburg, October.

AN AFRICAN PROTEST

Sir—I was more than astonished to read on page 34 of your August issue the matter *re* the Bechuana. As a resident of close on forty years off and on, and an owner of some thousands of morgen of land within the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and having travelled from one end of the country to the other, I imagine I have got to know many of the Bechuana customs in a way that would not come to the observation of casual travellers. And I have no hesitation in saying that it would, in their present state, be impossible to get from the Bechuana peoples what Britishers and Americans understand by the Voice of the People. As an example as to how the Census was last taken—some headman produced beads as representing the number of people under him; another a piece of string with knots and another a stick with notches. At the moment only two tribes have Chiefs, the Makatla and the Bangmakelsi.

The Regent of the Manwato, as you know, contested the rights of the High Commissioners to make proclamations aiming at a better Voice of the Common People. At present the people are held under a deep rooted system of fear of the Chief and his medicine men. They have no real security of tenure in the land allotted to them as it may be changed at any time by the order of the Chief or headman.

To write of South Africa as a foreign power having evil designs is a very wrong point of view and is not shared by any of the white settlers who have sense and vision enough to see that the best interests of the Bechuana Protectorate would be served in its being administrated by the Union of South Africa. I am sure the Premier of the Union is in a position to nominate officials with understanding with Bantu affairs, and the outlooks and capabilities of the Bantu races.

It is absolutely impossible for a man sent out from London to grasp the real situation until his term of office is nearly expired. Then he will not admit mistakes he has made. Under the present system of administration this will go on and incorporation will be kept back instead of being fostered.

Forty-Years B.P.

Bechuanaland, September.

TRAVEL

We remind our readers that we are always glad to give advice on travel questions, and are in a position to obtain from the right quarters any information that may be required about tickets, hotels, etc.

A VILLAGE DANCE IN HUNGARY

by ROSCOE RAILTON

No one could have picked a more mournful village in which to hold a dance. A herd of cows or long-horned oxen, a gaggle of geese, or a troop of screaming children playing in the middle of the road, were the only things which caused motorists to stop on their journey north or south. Tourists travelling between Budapest and the East never chose to descend at the insignificant little station, with its huge and pompous station-master. They went on to Mezökövesd, where they admired, and bought for large sums of money, Hungarian peasant costumes and embroidered blouses. Perhaps they went further to Tokaj and drank its famous wine. Indeed, one would not have thought that there had ever been a dance in this quiet little village. Still, it was near the wine district of the Mátra Hills, and so we were assured of having good wine. However, if on this particular Sunday a traveller had deigned to stop, he would have been surprised at the activity around the station hotel.

In Hungarian villages there are dances nearly every Sunday. They are attended with enthusiasm caused by a natural love of dancing coupled with a lack of any cinema or other counter-attraction. This, as it happened, was a more important dance than usual in celebration of the first cutting of the vine.

The dance was held under very different conditions from an English "village hop." It took place in the biggest pub in the village and no one was unduly disturbed by licensing laws or closing hours. It is true that, on ordinary days, the innkeeper had to close his shutters at about half past nine in the evening—after being open since dawn; but this was a special occasion. Dancing usually begins some time after lunch, and ends about breakfast-time the next morning. There is seldom any entrance-fee, and the host makes up this loss by the drink he sells. More often than not, the villagers dance around the bar, with the gipsy band playing on a raised platform at the far end of the room. Here in the station hotel the bar was very small. So a class distinction was made. The peasants were relegated to the court-yard, and what we called the village intelligentsia were given a room leading off the taproom.

When I and my two Hungarian friends arrived about nine in the evening, the dance was already in full swing. Everybody who lived within reach had made their way to the hotel. There were conscripts on leave, railway officials, a party of shoemakers from a village about four kilometres away and a member of the village fire-brigade.

He was a merry-looking fat man with a blue-striped uniform the colour of a butcher's apron. In his belt he carried a serviceable axe—as much for keeping order as for anything else. In the distance were two policemen. They wear a khaki uniform with green facings, black riding-boots and spurs and a black hat rather like a homburg, with a black feather in it. They carry enough weapons to destroy half the village: a rifle with fixed bayonet and a revolver—I am not sure about a sabre—but they could probably produce a truncheon from somewhere.

Our band was small, but, for a village, extremely good. We had two violins, a double-bass and a cimbalon. The "primás," who was called Joska, played brilliantly. He was a weird little man with hypnotic eyes and a slightly twisted mouth. The second violinist had arms as long as a chimpanzee and a devilish leer The double-bass player draped himself languidly in a corner, wearing a supercilious smile and an attempt at a swallow-tailed coat. An evil-looking hunchback with a face that had slipped askew, crouched over the cimbalon. All except the superior double-bass player wore something approximating to a dinner-jacket. They were, without doubt, a strange quartet, but they played better than any other Hungarian village band I have heard.

The violin is here rightly called the devil's instrument. Even though his violin is battered and weather-worn, a gipsy can cast a spell over his audience and command every mood. Once, in a little inn in the depths of the country, I saw a roomful of men and women crying when a gipsy was playing some sad and long-drawn-out folksong. Yet, in an instant the gipsy changed from this mournful "lassu" to a quick and rousing "csárdás." Everyone jumped to their feet and began to dance, until, one by one, they sat down exhausted. "Is it not strange," said Benedick, "that sheep's guts should hale souls out of men's bodies?" Away from the sound of a gipsy's violin, I can recognise the faults in his music, and I can almost agree that the gipsies have ruined the national folk-music of the Hungarian people; but when they are playing, I must fall under their spell, and my critical faculties are suspended. I must grant, however, that the gipsies' talents are limited. They play a foxtrot mechanically, their love of ornamentation often destroys the swing of a waltz, and with a tango they are hopelessly at sea.

We spent the evening in a leisurely way, for it was very hot and dusty in the room where we were dancing. There would be long intervals between the dances when someone would call the "primás" to him and begin to sing; the gipsy would pick up the tune, and the band improvise their accompaniment. Their leader would creep slowly nearer and nearer the singer, with the rest of the band tailing behind him. Afterwards there would be another pause while the glasses were being filled. At this stage one of our company might take up the violin and try to rival the gipsy's playing. Then the band would once more assume command and arouse us with a wild csárdás. The csárdás or "dance of the inn," looks absurdly simple, but the strange rhythm makes it a little more difficult than one would imagine. There are very many varied and complicated steps, but these are seldom seen in an ordinary village dance. Indeed, if the preference for the more common-place ballroom dances grows, there is danger that the art of dancing the csárdás will be forgotten—just as the folk dances of the Welsh people have been lost.

In the intervals of music, or perhaps when the gipsies were playing "Szomjas a banda" ("The band is thirsty"), I was not sorry to go out into the cool open courtyard and watch the fun.

There several hundreds of peasants were singing and dancing furiously. Most of the men wore hats and riding-boots, and the women a headshawl. The greater part of the young girls wore ordinary dress, but a few were in the gorgeous national costume. The withered and toothless old crones sat round on benches and watched the young people dance.

By this time it was beginning to get light. After a final glass of brandy to keep out the bitter cold of the dawn, we said goodnight all round and prepared to leave. Suddenly an uproar broke out in the courtyard. A free-fight started and knives began to appear. Apparently the company of shoemakers had become very drunk and abusive, and a quarrel had begun. The extraordinary thing is, that nobody ever seems to get seriously hurt in these tavern brawls—beyond a few simple bruises and flesh wounds. However, we thought we had better leave before a half-brick came our way.

This should certainly not deter anyone from visiting Hungary! An Englishman is welcomed with enthusiasm wherever he goes, and particularly at a village dance. The most difficult thing is to avoid being overcome by the litres of wine and strange drinks which are offered from all sides. And it is no easy job to sit on a high carriage for several kilometres of atrocious roads, after the administrations of hospitable Hungarians! Visits to Hungary should not always be reserved for the summer. Although the fearful heat of Budapest in summer is somewhat mitigated by the existence of several fine swimming-baths, it is far better to come to the city in very early summer or in the autumn.

BIGGER CARS ARE IN DEMAND

by CAPTAIN G. E. T. EYSTON

One of the outstanding facts of the Motor Show at Olympia last month was that the average horse power of the cars on view once again showed an increase. Now standing at nearly 21 h.p., this average has in two years gone up by very little short of 6 h.p. Although the reduction in the horse power tax came into force nearly two years ago, its effects have not yet worn off. For the first time, at least, in recent years, high-powered cars have become "popular" models.

Not only are engines larger, but, in addition, far more use is now being made of the available space on the chassis to give the greatest possible amount of body room. Seats are wider—Olympia had comfortable five-seater saloons on 12 h.p. chassis—and head room and leg room have been increased.

The demand for bigger engines is not confined to any one class. It is significant that, for 1937, a British car, which for a very long time past has had the unique distinction of paying the lowest tax of any four-wheeled vehicle in this country, has now been stepped up from seven to eight horse power rating. At the other end of the scale is an increasing number of really big cars at attractively low prices. The number of big Sixes, British and foreign, available here for less than £300 is steadily increasing.

Notable among them are two Twenty-fives of British manufacture, one of which can claim to be the lowest priced saloon of this size to be listed in Britain. The other British Twenty-five boasts of equipment more luxurious than is to be had on many models selling for considerably more. With independent front-wheel springing, adjustable steering, no-draught ventila-

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tion and anatomical seating scientifically designed to reduce driving fatigue, this car is built expressly to compete in overseas markets, as well as to meet the increasing demand here for big car motoring.

While Britain grows big car minded, Continental countries appear to be moving in exactly the opposite direction. A new Italian baby car of only 7 h.p. Treasury rating, and no more than 570 c.c. cylinder capacity was one of the sensations of Olympia. It has an engine a good deal smaller than that of any ordinary four-wheeled car built in this country. The cylinder capacity is, in fact, much smaller than on many motor cycles. Apart from tax, it is very economical to run, since its fuel consumption is as little as 50 miles per gallon. The French version of this diminutive two-seater was a popular exhibit at the Paris Salon last month. Although this was its first appearance there, it has, in fact, been on the roads for some months past, and has proved very popular.

Since France abolished the former horse power tax and substituted in its place a heavy additional tax on petrol, fuel economy has become a matter of primary importance to French motorists of small means. This is one of the reasons for the great interest shown in the two German diesel models exhibited at the Salon, since fuel economy, both as regards consumption and cost, is the outstanding merit of the diesel type. A French oil-engined car has also been announced. In view of my own efforts to develop and popularise this type of car, it is with some regret that I record the entire absence of any diesel car exhibit at Olympia.

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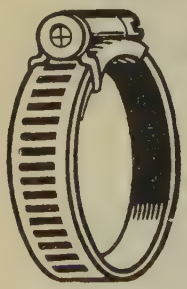

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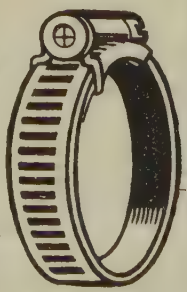

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ZIONISM AND EMPIRE

THY NEIGHBOUR. By Lord Melchett. *Muller.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by NORMAN BENTWICH

LORD MELCHETT'S book is opportune; for despite its moralising title the theme is that the Jewish National Home in Palestine offers the only solution to the Jewish problem. It is an eloquent appeal to the Christian peoples to apply the common principle of Christian and Jewish ethics which they have for centuries disregarded in their treatment of the Jews. Essentially it is a moving and human document, written by one who was a baptised Jew and has been called back to an intense Jewish loyalty by the inspiration of the new life of Israel in the old land of Israel.

Lord Melchett is a full-blooded Zionist. He believes that Palestine can be and should be in our day the home of a great part of the Jewish people; and in Palestine he would include the land which was part of it in Bible times and which is now called Transjordan. He contemplates the total evacuation of the Jewish population of Germany, the moving of masses of the oppressed Jews from Poland and Rumania and the other countries of Central Europe. This can be done, he argues, not only without harming or dispossessing the Arab, but so as to enhance the Arab's well-being and progress.

Lord Melchett is, too, a full-blooded English Imperialist. He sees in a strong Jewish National Home a bulwark of the Empire. "It is, above all, enormously to the interests of the British Empire and the people of Great Britain to implant in Palestine a population which will be bound to them by every conceivable human tie.

It is remarkable that in a short book of 260 pages the author should be able to encompass his large subject, which embraces the story of the Jewish persecution in the past and the Jewish plight today, the development of Zionism and its future, and a postscript on the Arab Revolt of 1936. But he does this by picking out the essentials and by a vivid dramatic sense. Movements, as he sees them, spring from some dramatic event: the origin of the Zionist Organisation out of the shock which Herzl suffered because of the Dreyfus case in France: the Balfour Declaration out of the magnetic influence of Dr. Weizmann; and so forth. His book is good reading written with rare conviction and often with almost lyrical eloquence. If only it would appeal to the Jew's nearest neighbour in Palestine!

NOT MERE POLITICS

THE SPANISH TRAGEDY. By E. Allison Peers. *Methuen.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by V. S. PRITCHETT

ONE'S main criticism of this book is

that it does not live up to its title. The greater part of Prof. Allison Peers' space is taken up by an orderly, intelligent and fairly impartial account of Spanish politics from the fall of Primo de Rivera to the outbreak of the present military rebellion; but there is very little to guide the reader towards an understanding of the deeper forces and passions which are concealed by party labels. Worse still, there is an attitude of patronage to the young republic, a sort of donnish teasing which is quite out of place; but which, to do Prof. Peers justice, is, I suppose, due to some pedantic nervousness before his subject.

A book with this title ought to go farther than chronology. It ought to tell one why, for example, Communism is a small force in Spain and Anarcho-Syndicalism a large one—at one point in the text he seems to suggest the numbers are the other way round. It ought to tell one far more about the labour movement and far more about the social and economic backgrounds which have made the revolutionary strike, the packed trial, and army intervention the commonplace of Spanish history for many generations. The mere politics of the business, the monthly swing of the pendulum in a parliamentary democracy which is obviously not working properly, cannot explain why, when generals decide this time upon yet another *pronunciamiento*, they find not an acquiescent country but almost an entire nation risen in arms against them. (Alas, risen, but not in arms: Prof. Allison Peers neglects to go far into the international aspect of the subject.) The point is not that the Spaniards of the Right and Left are deplorable politicians, incompetent in the parliamentary game exported from Westminster, but that the economic and social state of Spain has made deplorable politics, revolution and civil war inevitable. We are seeing now the anarchism of the unfed matched against the anarchism of the fed. To think otherwise, is, I am afraid, to join Prof. Allison Peers on the fence, give good and bad marks to the boys and adjure them not to be so extreme another time.

There are a few minor matters of fact or interpretation on which I differ. I find it tiresome to see him referring, for example, to the spread of pornographic literature after the republic. One does not expect a responsible English critic who, after all, knows his Spain well, to be quite so naively pothered or uncritical. And on the question of Jesuits: many think warmly of their education, but many do not, and all who have endeavoured in Spain to lead education into lay channels have met with the strongest and bitterest opposition from this Order.

The Jesuits are attacked, not for the education they have given, but for what, in educational matters, they have thwarted. People seem to forgive the vices of the wicked more easily than the vices of the virtuous.

THE ARMY AS REFORMER

FAR EAST IN FERMENT. By Guenther Stein. *Methuen.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by G. E. HUBBARD

THE most interesting part of Mr. Stein's book (which incidentally is a book on Japan in spite of the wider implications of the title) is his picture of the February revolt in Tokyo and of the state of affairs which it has left behind it. The picture which he presents is certainly not encouraging. The failure of the *coup* itself and the unexpectedly rigorous action taken against its promoters has been interpreted in this country as a triumph for Japanese liberalism and as hopeful for the revival of parliamentary government. When the uprising of February 26 took place the parliamentarians, thanks to the revelations of

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corruption in the immediately precedent elections, were in a very discredited state and offered a weak foundation for those whose business it was to rebuild the administration. The story of how this rebuilding was carried through by the last surviving, eighty-six year old Elder Statesman, Prince Saionji, is most illuminating. The outcome, as described, was not of a nature to give much comfort to those who hoped to see a reduction of the influence of the military in Japan. The practice of appointing the Ministers of the Army and the Navy from among the active ranks of the services was, after the revolt, made legally binding, the Presidency of the Privy Council was given to Baron Hiranuma, the head of a powerful fascist organisation, and the "bureaucrat" elements of the Government, to use Mr. Stein's words, "experienced reshuffle, rejuvenation and reorganisation on a large scale in order to become fit once more for cooperation with the Services."

However, in judging the implications of military power in Japan's political life we need to take into account that the energies of the military party are occupied by ideals of domestic reform fully as much as by schemes of foreign expansion. The February revolt was largely a protest against social abuses. How bad these abuses are is made manifest by what Mr. Stein has to tell about conditions in Japanese life today. Take, for example, the mal-distribution of wealth. The fortune of the Mitsui family alone has recently been assessed at £30,000,000 and this in a country where 92 per cent. of the population have an average income of £6 per head. Again the agricultural population (roughly one-half of the nation) enjoys 18 per cent. of the national income, while those employed in commerce (a mere fraction of the whole) command 27 per cent. When such unequal conditions exist it is obviously wrong to withhold all sympathy from the ardent young military reformers, however misguided they may be in their views on Japan's "mission in East Asia."

As regards the chances of a peaceful outcome of the Far Eastern "ferment," the author's conclusions are equally unreassuring. "Is war inevitable?" he asks in the last chapter. Wisely he leaves the question without a specific answer, but he takes a gloomy view of the prospects. The crux of the danger he sees as lying in Japan's relations with Russia, concerning the peaceful solution of which he appears to be none too hopeful, while admitting the obvious reasons which each of the two countries has for avoiding the disruptions inseparable from war in the present state of its internal economy.

The book closes with a pertinent reminder of the share of blame which attaches to the other great nations for the war psychosis which today exists in Japan. Had Japan been provided with "a sufficient economic base for her future," had she been given a hope of international fair play, had the rest of the world practised what they preached in the matter of disarmament, "there would probably be no fear of war today."

ACTIVE SERVICE

REPORTER IN SPAIN. By Frank Pitcairn. *Lawrence and Wishart.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by JOHN MARKS.

THE author of this 140-page book is a brilliant and able journalist, who not only writes for the Left Front in Spain, as a contributior to the *Daily Worker* and other newspapers, but fights for it as a Madrid Government militiaman. He is clearly a good soldier, unquestioning in his loyalty to the cause he serves, as enthusiastic as his comrades in arms, and also probably more capable than they, thanks perhaps to hazy

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by HAROLD NICOLSON, M.P. 6d.

This is the confession of faith of a member of the National Labour Party. Mr. Nicolson, who, even in the short time since his sensational victory at West Leicester, has made his mark in the House of Commons, sets out with force and with his own whimsical humour his interpretation of what, in his view, National Labour stands for.

Constable

memories of some O.T.C. His book is an exciting despatch from the front (the advance posts of democracy) and, as such, should be read by everyone who knows enough about the present mortal struggle in Spain not to be too far misled by exaggeration and occasional misrepresentation of fact.

Written in haste, between skirmishes, and flung, anyhow punctuated, uncorrected, red-hot from the pen to the printer, the faults and virtues of his book are what one would expect of a report by an intelligent volunteer with his life to lose in defence of an ideal. The realisation that that life, and the lives of his gallant, ill-equipped comrades, may be shattered amid grim Castilian rocks by the German bombs of a powerful enemy adds a poignancy to his tale which makes it fine and memorable. His account of fellowship under shell and gun-fire in the Guadarramas (Chapters XIX-XXI) is comparable in emotional effect to the laconic war-reporting of Hemingway. Ralph Bates has contributed a moving and admirable preface to the book.

For the rest—the outbreak of the war, its political antecedents, the heroic, unspotted innocence of one camp, the machinations and atrocities of the other —here, of course, you have the familiar whole hog, for a public that wants it. What we so seldom get nowadays is just a slice of pork with a choice of vegetables; for the modern menu has dwindled to those two good, plain *pi ces de résistance*: meat and poison. And these taste so much like the same dish that the dressing, anyway, is immaterial. Starting where it does, Mr. Pitcairn's account of the political gang-murders that developed into a civil war is, I take it, orthodox and not more than fifty per cent. inaccurate; but his version of the battle for the Madrid barracks, which he rechristens "Montagna" (perhaps by way of backhanded compliment to Mussolini) somewhat improves on the original official reports. After all, three months is ample time for improvement. . . .

SHORTER NOTICES

NOVEL ON YELLOW PAPER. By Stevie Smith. *Cape.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

THIS is no ordinary novel. It is described by the author as "a foot-off-the-ground novel that came by the left hand." It is not so much a story as a series of reflections, sometimes witty and rarely superficial, on love, literature and politics.

It occurs to Miss Smith to wonder what we should say about Germany if that country were an individual—Mr. Brown. This is what she thinks:

"Oh, yes, where is that Mr. Brown we don't see now, it is a long time, that was sick? Oh, yes, he was sick. Oh, yes, he got dictators, it turned out afterwards. That's what he got. Oh, certainly he was bad, very phony, very queer, but he got dictators like the doctors said."

A FRENCHMAN IN JAPAN. By Maurice Dekobra. *T. Werner Laurie.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

HAVING explained to us modern China, M. Dekobra now sets out to interpret Japan in a collection of very amusing and interesting sketches. It was not just chance which induced the Japanese journalists who came to meet him to ask him what he thought of Japanese women. What he could not tell them he is able to tell us, and Dekobra admirers will not be disappointed.

With Japan's political aims he has considerable sympathy, although he offers no solution to her problems. His attitude to Japan is perhaps best expressed in the words with which he describes his feelings on leaving the country. "Would it not be wise to love Japan as one of those beautiful creatures inaccessible and distant, difficult to approach and always incomprehensible; regarding whom one is not sure whether her enigmatic smile hides a menace or a caress?"

THE WORLD OF FINANCE

HOPE REVIVED

By " RAPIER "

THE long awaited devaluation of the Gold Bloc has been at last achieved, and with the minimum of disturbance to the world at large, thanks to the tripartite agreement reached between America, Britain and France, to maintain the stability of their currencies within certain partially defined, though variable limits. This agreement, though by no means all France wished and tried to achieve, gave M. Blum something to offer to his countrymen in return for devaluation and gives the world hope of an ultimate return to complete currency stability and the removal of exchange restrictions and quotas within the next few years. By the subsequent statesmanlike action of Secretary Morgenthau of the United States Treasury in permitting gold exports from America to France and Britain these three countries are now operating a new type of gold standard of an elastic nature which can be varied as the Governments desire. If, as is hoped and believed, this agreement is operated in the spirit of co-operation which it implies, three of the world's leading currencies may be expected to maintain a comparative stability over the next few years which must redound to the benefit of the world at large.

The vicious circle of economic depression, political unrest and lack of confidence, has been broken at its most vulnerable point. But devaluation by itself will not solve the world's problems. It must be followed by the abolition of currency restrictions and quotas, and a lowering of tariffs, if it is to have its full beneficial effects. Already France has set a good example in this direction, but Britain appears to be lagging behind. Not only has Britain retained the freedom of sterling without any definite link to gold but, according to pronouncements by Mr. Neville Chamberlain and his henchman, Mr. W. S. Morrison, Britain expects every other country to get rid of exchange restrictions and quotas, while Britain's part will be at most not to raise tariffs. Mr. Morrison went even further at Geneva when he hinted that unless other countries made sacrifices Britain would find it very difficult to resist the demand for higher tariffs for its industries which would inevitably follow the increased competition from the countries which have now devalued. Both these statesmen seem to have forgotten that when Britain suspended the gold standard and depreciated sterling the opportunity was taken to abandon the traditional free trade policy and institute an all round protective tariff for British industries, which was followed later by the Ottawa agreements. Let us hope that second thoughts will indicate a more generous outlook from the British government.

The reverberations of the devaluation of France, Holland and Switzerland were world wide and many of the smaller countries of Europe took the opportunity to adjust their currencies

to the new alignment. But the gaze of the world was mainly turned upon Germany and Italy to see what their reactions would be. Undoubtedly, these two countries were entirely unprepared for the initiative taken for the first time for many months by the democracies, which left Germany and Italy to face a *fait accompli*, as the democracies have had to do so many times recently by the sudden action of the dictators. But it would be mistaken to look upon the move as a Machiavellian political attempt to undermine the economic position of the dictatorships. They were simply ignored.

Mussolini, as we all know, took the plunge, but Hitler maintained the *status quo*. But though Mussolini has devalued the lira he has not abandoned the autarchic regime which appears to be a necessary concomitant of a totalitarian economy. Germany, on the other hand, preferred to maintain the complicated and ingenious currency regime instituted by Dr. Schacht, which gives that country the best of both worlds by having a fixed gold currency for buying abroad and a dozen different kinds of marks for meeting its debt obligations and assisting its exporters. It is credibly believed that Dr. Schacht himself would be glad to be rid of the monster which he has so painstakingly raised, but he has decided to wait and see how the tripartite agreement works out and what concessions, if any, in the way of lower tariff barriers may be forthcoming before he joins the devaluationists. The real problem for both Germany and Italy is how to free their currencies from restrictions without engendering a flight of capital by their nationals. Only by restoring confidence in the inherent soundness of the financial position of these countries can this danger be avoided.

Across the Atlantic, trade revival appears to be going ahead unchecked by the bitter struggle in progress over the Presidential election. Wall Street has apparently made up its mind that whoever is elected recovery will continue. Not that Wall Street likes Mr. Roosevelt and his policies any better than in the past, but it can no longer ignore the signs of continuing trade revival. As *Banking*, published by the American Bankers Association, states in its current issue: "Business enters the final quarter assured that to date 1936 has been the best year since 1930, and confident that the recovery curve will continue to ascend during the autumn months."

U.S. Stocks to Hold

It is always satisfactory to be able to say "I told you so," and I therefore make no apology in referring to a list of American shares recommended by me in *World* last January with the quotations at that date together with those on October 13 in brackets. Bethlehem Steel $51\frac{3}{4}$ ($74\frac{5}{8}$), Union Carbide $71\frac{1}{2}$ ($99\frac{1}{4}$), Allis Chalmers $36\frac{7}{8}$ ($64\frac{1}{2}$), American Radiator $24\frac{7}{8}$ ($23\frac{1}{4}$), Montgomery Ward $39 ($53\frac{7}{8}$), New York Central Railroad $28\frac{1}{2}$ ($48\frac{5}{8}$), Pennsylvania Railroad $31\frac{3}{8}$ ($43\frac{3}{4}$), Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad $51

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(75½), North American Company $27¼ (32). I still think that all these stocks should be retained and will go considerably higher over the next six months. I should also add to the list U.S. Steel, Standard Oil of New Jersey and Standard Oil of California; and General Motors.

In recommending American stocks for investment I do not forget that Britain has probably another two years of prosperity before it. America, however, looks more attractive to the investor as it is in an earlier stage of the upward swing of the trade cycle than Britain, and its securities therefore hold out a better opportunity for capital appreciation.

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